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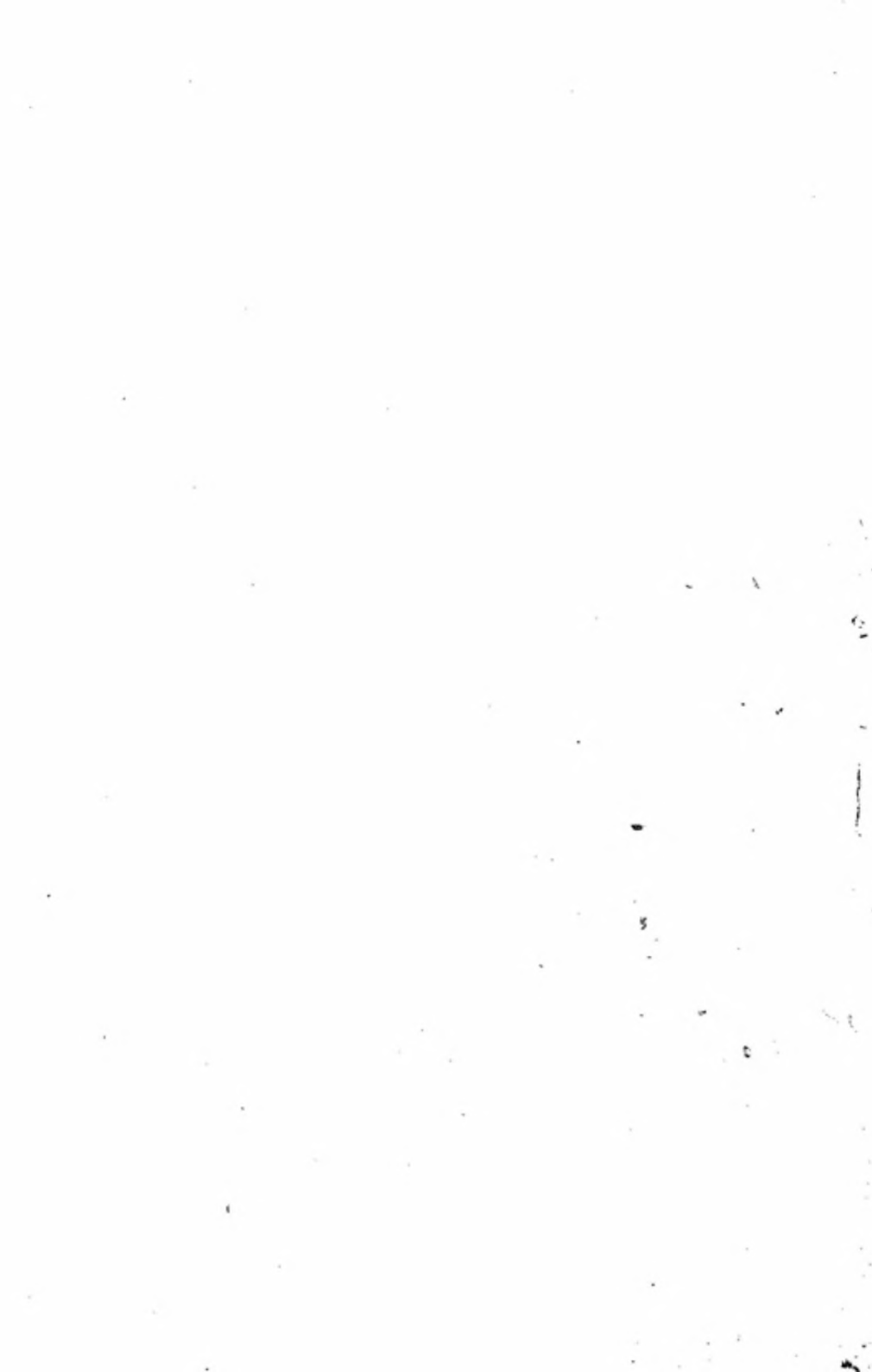
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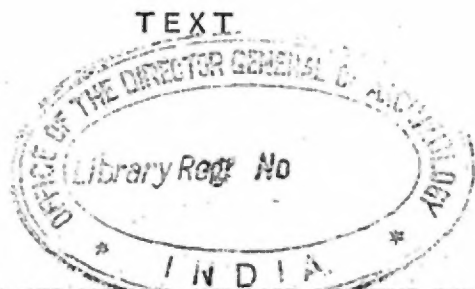


VOL. VI. No. 1.

April, 1885.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES

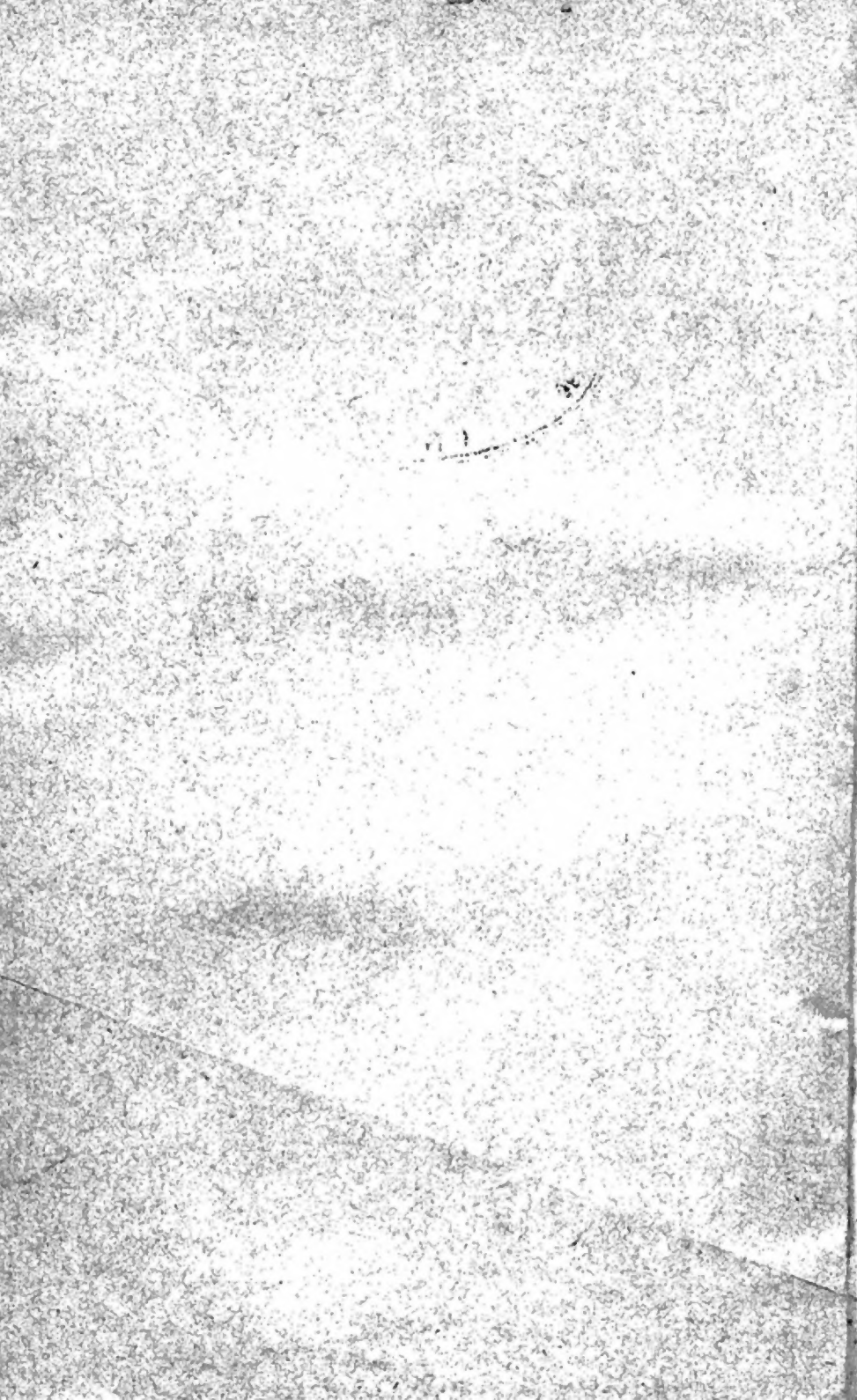


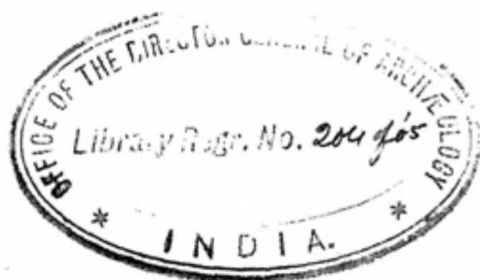
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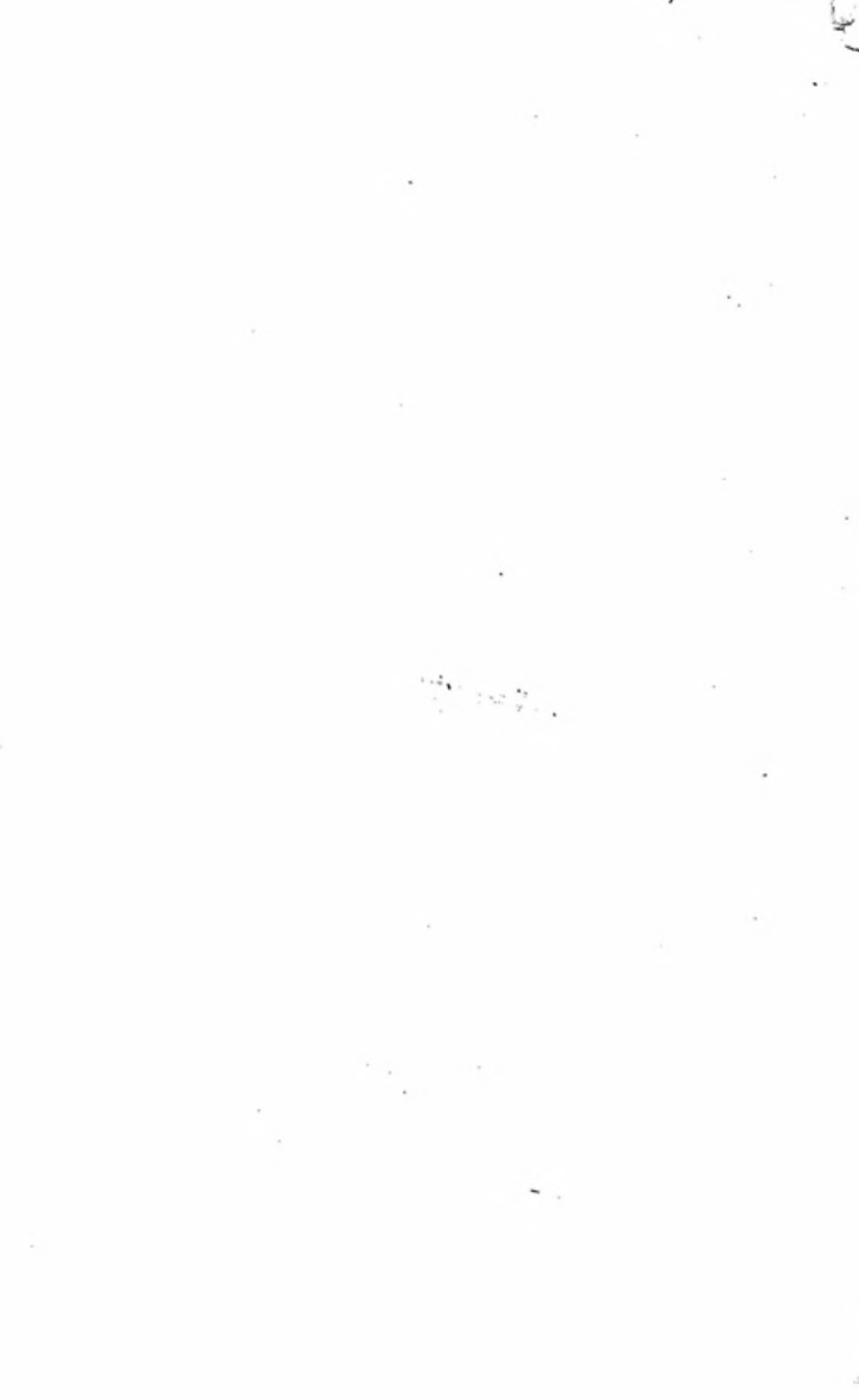
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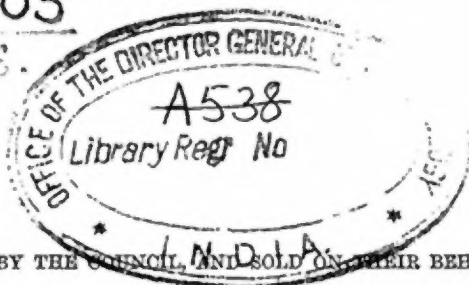
HELLENIC STUDIES

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VOLUME VI

J. H. S.



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# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Rules of the Society . . . . .	xiii
List of Officers and Members . . . . .	xxi
Transactions of the Society—1885 . . . . .	xli
1. A Statuette representing a Boy and a Goose (Pl. A.).—E. A. GARDNER . . . . .	1
2. Sepulchral Relief from Attica, at Winton Castle (Pl. B.).—G. BALDWIN BROWN . . . . .	16
3. Odysseus and the Sirens—Dionysiac Boat-Races—A Cylix by Nikosthenes (Pl. XLIX.).—JANE E. HARRISON . . . . .	19
4. Ancient Marbles in Great Britain. Supplement II. (Pls. LVI., LVII., and C.).—A. MICHAELIS . . . . .	30
5. Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias: Megarica, Corinthiaca (Pls. L.—LV.).—F. IMHOOF-BLUMER and P. GARDNER . . . . .	50
6. The Pergamene Frieze ( <i>continued</i> ).—L. R. FARNELL . . . . .	102
7. Inscriptions copied by Cockerell in Greece, I.—E. A. GARDNER . . . . .	143
8. The Aeschylean Treatment of Myth and Legend.—LEWIS CAMPBELL . . . . .	153
9. Notes on (1) The Trilogy, (2) Certain Formal Artifices of Aeschylus.—J. B. BURY . . . . .	167
10. Early Paintings of Asia Minor.—CECIL SMITH . . . . .	180
11. Amphora Handles from Antiparos.—PERCY GARDNER . . . . .	192
12. On the Gold and Silver Mines of Siphnos.—J. THEODORE BENT . . . . .	195
13. A Torso of Hadrian in the British Museum.—WARWICK WROTH . . . . .	199
14. The Discovery of Naukratis.—W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE . . . . .	202
15. The Tomb of Porsenna (Pl. LX.).—JAMES FERGUSON . . . . .	207
16. Telos and Karpachos.—J. THEODORE BENT . . . . .	233
17. A Terra-Cotta Diadumenes (Pl. LXI.).—A. S. MURRAY . . . . .	243

	PAGE
18. Inscriptions from Cos, &c.—E. A. GARDNER . . . . .	248
19. Judith and Holofernes.—E. L. HICKS . . . . .	261
20. Archaic Gorgons in the British Museum (Pls. LIX. and D.).—J. SIX .	275
21. Sarapis standing on a Xanthian Marble in the British Museum (Pls. LVIII. and E.).—A. MICHAELIS . . . . .	287
22. The Homeric Land-System.—W. RIDGEWAY . . . . .	319
23. Inscriptions copied by Cockerell in Greece, II.—E. A. GARDNER . .	340
24. On the Syrix in the Ancient Chariot.—A. W. VERRALL . . . . .	364
25. Vases from Rhodes with Incised Inscriptions.—CECIL SMITH . . . .	371
26. Statue of an Emperor in the British Museum.—C. T. NEWTON . . .	378
27. Remarks on Aeschylus <i>Agam.</i> 1172, in emendation of Mr. Bury's reading.—F. A. PALEY . . . . .	381



## CLASSIFIED TABLE OF CONTENTS.

### I.—EXCAVATION AND TRAVEL.

	PAGE
J. THEODORE BENT.—On the Gold and Silver Mines of Siphnos . . . . .	195
„ „ Teles and Carpathos . . . . .	233
W. M. F. PETRIE.—The Discovery of Naukratis . . . . .	203

### II.—ART AND MANUFACTURE.

G. BALDWIN BROWN.—A Sepulchral Relief from Attica . . . . .	16
L. R. FARNELL.—The Pergamene Frieze ( <i>continued</i> ) . . . . .	102
JAMES FERGUSSON.—The Tomb of Porsenna . . . . .	207
E. A. GARDNER.—A Statuette representing a Boy and a Goose . . . . .	1
P. GARDNER.—Amphora Handles from Antiparos . . . . .	192
JANE HARRISON.—A Cylix by Nikosthenes . . . . .	19
F. IMHOOF-BLUMER } and P. GARDNER. } Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias, I. . . . .	50
A. MICHAELIS.—Ancient Marbles in Great Britain. Suppl. II. . . . .	30
„ „ Sarapis standing on a Xanthian Marble . . . . .	287
A. S. MURRAY.—A Terra-Cotta Diadumenos . . . . .	243
C. T. NEWTON.—Statue of an Emperor in the British Museum . . . . .	378
JAN SIX.—Archaic Gorgons in the British Museum . . . . .	275
CECIL SMITH.—Early Paintings of Asia Minor. . . . .	180
W. W. WROTH.—A Torso of Hadrian in the British Museum . . . . .	199

## III.—PHILOLOGY AND INSCRIPTIONS.

	PAGE
E. A. GARDNER.—Inscriptions copied by Cockerell in Greece . . . . .	143, 340
"    "    Inscriptions from Cos, &c. . . . .	248
CECIL SMITH.—Vases from Rhodes with Incised Inscriptions . . . . .	371

## IV.—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

E. L. HICKS.—Judith and Holofernes . . . . .	261
W. RIDGEWAY.—The Homeric Land System . . . . .	319
A. W. VERRALL.—On the Syriux in the Ancient Chariot . . . . .	364

## V.—LITERATURE.

J. B. BURY.—Notes on (1) The Trilogy, (2) Certain Formal Artifices of Aeschylus . . . . .	167
LEWIS CAMPBELL.—The Aeschylean Treatment of Myth and Legend . .	153
F. A. PALEY.—Remarks on Aeschylus <i>Agam.</i> 1172 . . . . .	381

## LIST OF PLATES.

PLATE

XLIX. A Cylix by Nikosthenes representing a Dionysiac Boat-Race. Autotype from a drawing by A. Housselin.

L.	}	Photographs by Brunner and Co., Winterthur, from casts of coins of Megaris and Corinthia.
LI.		
LII.		
LIII.		
LIV.		
LV.		

LVI.	}	Figures from a Corinthian puteal. Autotype print.
LVII.		

LVIII. A Xanthian Marble in the British Museum. Autotype print.

*Obverse*.—Sarapis standing, and Tyche.

*Reverse*.—Prophylactic design of figures in a cave.

LIX. A Pinax from Camirus, in the British Museum. Subject: a Gorgon. Autotype print.

LX. Restoration of the Tomb of Porsenna. Drawn by James Fergusson.

LXI. A Terra-Cotta Figure of a Diadumenos, belonging to Mr. W. R. Paton. Autotype print.

## LIST OF WOOD-CUTS, &c.

	PAGE
Silver Statuette of Boy and Goose (Pl. A.) . . . . .	1
"          "          "     : . . . . .	8
Attic Sepulchral Relief (Pl. B.) . . . . .	16
Cylix by Nikosthenes . . . . .	21
Bull from Athens (Pl. C.) . . . . .	32
Two Pans (Castle Howard) . . . . .	36
Corinthian Puteal, Procession of Deities . . . . .	48
Lion-headed Monster, Pergamene Frieze . . . . .	120
Apollo-group          "     "     . . . . .	125
Gigantomachy, Vase from Tanagra . . . . .	138
Two Satyrs, Asiatic Vase . . . . .	181
Archaic Rhodian Oenochoe . . . . .	186
Satyr from Asiatic Sarcophagus . . . . .	190
Tomb of Aruns at Albano . . . . .	212
Tomb of Alyattes at Sardis . . . . .	221
El Deir, Petra . . . . .	225
Lama Temple at Pekin . . . . .	230
Sepulchral Monuments at Telos . . . . .	234, 235
Plan of Tomb at Karpathos . . . . .	237
Plan of Modern House, Karpathos . . . . .	240
The Vase on Diadumenos . . . . .	244

## LIST OF WOOD-CUTS, &amp;c.

xi

	PAGE
Gorgon on Alabastos from Camiros . . . . .	281
Gorgons on Etruscan Gems . . . . .	285
Gorgons on Handle of Vessel (Pl. D.) . . . . .	286
Cerberus in bronze, British Museum . . . . .	293
Sarapis in bronze ; Statuette, Florence . . . . .	297
"      "      "      Dresden . . . . .	299
Sarapis on Coins (Pl. E.) . . . . .	303
Silver Statuette of Sarapis ; British Museum . . . . .	304
Marble Statue of Sarapis (Maffei) . . . . .	305
Macedonian Chariot with Archaic Wheel . . . . .	368
Vases from Rhodes with Incised Inscriptions . . . . .	373—375



# RULES

OF THE

## SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archaeological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of



the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer, the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council.

6. No money shall be drawn out of the hands of the Treasurer or dealt with otherwise than by an order of Council, and a cheque signed by two members of Council and countersigned by a Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed : no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year ; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of

the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

## RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY.

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c. as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M., when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows :—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.
- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.
- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

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- The Revue Archéologique, *Paris* (per M. Georges Perrot, 45, rue d'Ulm).
- The Numismatic Chronicle.
- The Publications of the Evangelical School, *Smyrna*.
- The Annuaire de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France, *Paris*.
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- The Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.
- The Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, and the Journal of Philology.
- The Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllagos, *Constantinople*.
- The American Journal of Archæology (Dr. A. L. Frothingham), 29, Cathedral Street, *Baltimore, U.S.A.*

## THE SESSION OF 1885-6.

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**The First General Meeting** was held on *October 22, 1885*,  
PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN read a paper by Mr. A. S. Murray 'On a Terra-Cotta Diadumenos recently acquired in Smyrna by Mr. W. R. Paton' (*Journal*, Vol. VI. p. 243). The Vaison and Farnese marble copies in the British Museum of the original bronze Diadumenos of Polycleitus were clearly executed at a date when the canon of Lysippus had superseded that of Polycleitus, so that an artist even when copying the latter could hardly shake off the influence of the former. This was especially noticeable in the length of the thigh. It was therefore difficult to form a just idea of the style of Polycleitus. The present terra-cotta, however, seemed to some extent to bridge over the gulf between the extant marble copies and the original works. Its proportions approximated far more nearly to the known canon of Polycleitus, and in the workmanship there was more effort shown to imitate the effect of the bronze. As to date Mr. Murray was inclined to assign the statuette, from certain traces of the influences of Praxiteles, to the short period between that sculptor and Lysippus.

The CHAIRMAN said that in general treatment the figure reminded him of the fragments he had found on the ancient surface of the Mausoleum, fragments remarkable for their beauty of modelling. It was possible that these and the statuette now in question had been models prepared for the use of art students.

MR. GARDNER, in showing photographs of the terra-cotta and the Farnese Diadumenos, pointed out the superiority of the former in point of workmanship, and agreed with Professor Newton that the fineness of execution could hardly be accounted for in a terra-cotta otherwise than by supposing it to have been a sculptor's model.

The HON. SECRETARY read a paper by Professor W. Ridgeway 'On the Land System of Homer' (*Journal*, Vol. VI. p. 319). The writer's object was to prove, by minute examination of words and passages bearing on agriculture, that traces of the primitive common field system were to be found in the *Iliad*, while the *Odyssey* seemed to imply a later system, tending towards the hereditary and separate ownership which in the time of Hesiod had become thoroughly established.

PROFESSOR CAMPBELL, while admitting the great interest of the paper, was inclined to think that it contained some assumptions which would hardly bear examination.

MR. GENNADIUS illustrated and confirmed the Homeric use of certain agricultural customs and phrases from the usage of modern Greece, and maintained that a knowledge of the language and customs of the Greece of to-day was essential to a true understanding of the classical texts.

This contention was supported by PROFESSOR NEWTON, who gave several instances, from his experiences in the Levant, of the survival of Homeric customs; and Mr. Bent bore similar testimony in regard to the Greek islands.

**The Second General Meeting** was held on *March 11, 1886*, PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, Vice-President, in the Chair.

MR. A. S. MURRAY read a paper on 'Antiquities from the Island of Lipara' (*Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 51). After rapidly sketching the history of the island to Roman times, Mr. Murray showed illustrations of two interesting vases, one of which represented a graceful female figure standing between two grotesque old men, while the other had the design of a head,

probably of a Satyr, drawn in profile on a large scale. Most of the objects found belong to the third and fourth centuries B.C.; but there was a red figure *lecythus* of Sicilian type which could hardly be later than the sixth century, and a series of neolithic implements which bring us in contact with the original inhabitants. Mr. Murray expressed the hope that further excavations might be undertaken in this interesting island.

MR. ARTHUR J. EVANS read a paper on 'Recent Discoveries of Tarentine Terra-cottas' (*Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 1). The author prefaced his account of the terra-cottas by a summary review of the topography and architectural remains of the Hellenic city, upon which an entirely new light has been thrown by the excavations connected with new government works, having for their object the conversion of Taranto into the Toulon of the Central Mediterranean, and by the local researches of Professor Luigi Viola, appointed by the Italian Government to watch the excavations in the interests of archaeology. The discoveries of terra-cottas have been specially important, including three extensive deposits of ex-votos connected respectively with three local sanctuaries, one of Apollo, and the other two of Chthonic divinities, besides a highly interesting series from the tombs and others of more general *provenance*. Of these various classes the author had acquired a considerable series during repeated visits to the spot, the whole of which will now be deposited in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, of which he is keeper. Amongst those more particularly described were a collection of votive pieces (from a sanctuary which the author showed to have been dedicated to Persephonê-Gaia Iacchus and the Chthonic Dionysus) displaying a remarkable analogy with sepulchral subjects; and another collection from a *temenos* consecrated to Persephonê, including, besides almost life-size heads and smaller reliefs of the goddess in the most perfect style of art, a series of figures from a recently discovered archaic stratum of limited extent, which are well-nigh purely Egyptian in their features. They were found associated with scarabs, and in the course of the paper the suggestion was

offered that some of these may have been imported from Naucratis. Amongst other classes of Tarentine terra-cottas described, specimens of which were exhibited, were moulds for sacred cakes, covered with a variety of symbols, some undescribed varieties of antefixes, perforated discs with inscriptions, &c., and a small collection of terra-cotta impressions of gems and signets. Among the objects from the tombs were parts of friezes and sepulchral slabs presenting reliefs; a model of a boat, with bands of colour on the sides and an eye painted on either side of the prow; a beautiful torso of Aphrodite stooping to fasten her sandal; and two little masterpieces of the Koroplastic art, an Eros playing at ball, and a negro slave boy asleep under an amphora, of striking realism and pathos.

MR. GENNADIUS pointed out that moulds like those exhibited were still used for stamping cakes in Greece at the present day.

PROFESSOR GARDNER said that similar deposits of terra-cottas, mostly in fragments, had been found at Naucratis, and mentioned a suggestion previously made by Mr. R. Anderson that such deposits were due to the periodical clearing out of temples.

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**The Third General Meeting** was held on *May 6, 1886*, PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROFESSOR JEBB read a paper 'On the Homeric House in Relation to the Remains at Tiryns' (*Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 170). The structure of the house at Tiryns, as traced by Dr. Dörpfeld, was shown by a plan. Beside it was placed another, showing the arrangement of the Homeric house as archaeologists have hitherto usually deduced it from the data of the Homeric poems, the sketch given by J. Protodikos (1877) being taken as a basis. It was not Professor Jebb's aim to enter upon the questions of the origin and age of the remains of Tiryns, whether they were Phœnician, of about 1100 B.C., as Dr. Schliemann thinks, or of post-classical date (some archaic materials having been partially used), as some



have thought. The single question discussed was : assuming Dr. Dörpfeld's plan of the house at Tiryns to be correct, can this plan be brought into intelligible agreement with the Homeric poems? The general features common to the house at Tiryns (according to Dr. Dörpfeld) and the Homeric house were first indicated. The essential difference was then pointed out. At Tiryns the *megaron* is altogether isolated from the apartments of the women, which are identified with a similar but smaller hall, parallel with the other at the north-east corner. The only communications between them are by long and circuitous routes, through labyrinths of intricate passages. In the Homeric house, on the contrary, a vital feature is the situation of the women's apartments immediately behind the men's hall, with which they are in direct communication by a door. This was shown by a series of passages, taken chiefly from books xvii. to xx. of the *Odyssey*. The Hellenic house, alike of the Homeric and of the later classical age, was contrived to combine the seclusion of women from the outer world with the social unity of the family. The arrangement at Tiryns was ill-suited to secure either object. The difference was one not merely of detail, but of type. Given a house of the Tiryns type, the *Odyssey* becomes unintelligible.

PROFESSOR BUTCHER thought that the writer had made out his main contention conclusively. The relative position of the men's and the women's apartments in the plan at Tiryns made the story of the *Odyssey* impossible. He also agreed with Professor Jebb that Odysseus shot the suitors from the lower end of the hall, for if it was from the upper end, why did not the suitors escape by the lower door into the αὐλή, which was not fastened? Professor Jebb's view as to the ὀρσοθύρη being distinct from the ὁδὸς ἐς λαύρην (*Od.* xxii. 127) was new, and required consideration. It certainly disposed of some difficulties, but no one reading lines 126 and 127 with an open mind would imagine that more than one door was in question. Similarly as to the meaning of ῥῶγες μεγάροιο, Professor Butcher was still inclined to the view of its implying an upper passage or clear-story, and

the modern use of *ρούγα* might have been derived from such an idea.

PROFESSOR GARDNER, while agreeing as to the necessary connection in the Homeric house between the men's and women's apartments, was not convinced that such an arrangement was shut out by the plan at Tiryns. Was the apparent isolation of the two reasonable on the face of it at any period of history? As only foundations remain, why may there not have been a door (*ὀρσοθύρη*) between the *θύλαμος* and *μέγαρον*, raised above the floor, and therefore no longer to be traced? Admittedly the main divisions of *αὐλή*, *αἶθουσα*, *μέγαρον*, and *θάλαμος* were represented in the plan at Tiryns. So, too, was the site of the altar in the *αὐλή*, and of the hearth in the *μέγαρον*. The conclusions of so competent an archæologist as Dr. Dörpfeld could not be lightly set aside. Professor Gardner further quoted the opinion of Professor J. H. Middleton that the palace at Tiryns explained the Homeric poems far better than any plan previously given.

In reply to Professor Gardner, PROFESSOR JEBB pointed out that Dr. Dörpfeld does not recognise any *ὀρσοθύρη* at Tiryns, and that if it had existed it would necessarily have been the usual mode of access to the men's hall from the women's, as being so much the easiest. To it, then, we should have to apply the oft-repeated verse as to l'encllope 'standing by the door-post of the hall,' which, however, obviously refers to one of the principal entrances, not to a mere postern in a side wall.

**The Annual Meeting** was held on *June 24, 1886*, PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, Vice-President, in the Chair. The following Report was read by the HON. SEC. on behalf of the Council:—

Although there is no striking event to record in the history of the Society during the past year, there is every reason to feel satisfied with its progress. The *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, by which in the main the Society's work may best be judged, steadily maintains its high position among periodicals of its class. That it is appreciated elsewhere than in England is testified not only by the increasing number of foreign

members and foreign libraries that subscribe for it, but also by the readiness of foreign scholars to contribute to its pages. Thus in the volume for 1885 Prof. Michaelis continues his invaluable record of the 'Ancient Marbles in Great Britain,' and discusses in detail one of the 'Xanthian Marbles in the British Museum'; Dr. Six, the author of an exhaustive treatise on the 'Gorgon in Greek Art,' deals with 'Some Archaic Gorgons in the British Museum'; while Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, in conjunction with Prof. Percy Gardner, publishes the first part of a 'Numismatic Commentary on the Text of Pausanias,' the importance of which to all students of Greek art need not be pointed out. The English contributions in the same volume are fully equal in interest and variety to those which have appeared in previous volumes. Among them may be mentioned a memoir on the 'Tomb of Porsenna at Clusium,' by the late Mr. James Fergusson, whose lamented death has removed one of the foremost authorities on ancient architecture; notes on the 'Islands of Telos and Karpathos,' by Mr. J. T. Bent; a paper on the 'Homeric Land System,' by Prof. W. Ridgeway; on 'Judith and Holofernes,' by Rev. E. L. Hicks; the conclusion of Mr. L. R. Farnell's paper on the 'Pergamene Frieze,' and shorter papers by Messrs. E. A. Gardner, A. S. Murray, C. T. Newton, Cecil Smith, and others.

In last year's Report mention was made of the excavations undertaken on the site of Naucratis, on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund, by Mr. Flinders Petrie, who contributed to the *Journal* for 1885 a short summary of his work. During the present spring these excavations have been continued under the able direction of Mr. E. A. Gardner, with very important results, of which an account will appear in due course. The Council felt justified in contributing a further sum of £100 towards the cost of so interesting an undertaking.

The only other matter of this kind which has come under the notice of the Council during the past year was an application from Mr. Bent for aid in the exploration of Samos. The sum of £50 was granted, but the Council regret to say that, owing to unexpected difficulty in obtaining permission to dig in the island, Mr. Bent has not been so successful as he had hoped. He has, however, spent only half the amount.

The grant of £100 for three years, in aid of the proposed British School at Athens, announced in last year's Report, has not yet been called for. But in the interval the house at Athens has been built, and the promoters have good reason to hope that the School may be opened, at any rate on a moderate scale, before very long. The only difficulty lies in raising the sum still needed to ensure an adequate endowment. It has been suggested that some part of this might be obtained in the form of annual subscriptions, and the Council take this opportunity of commending the suggestion to all members of the Hellenic Society. Subscriptions or donations for the School may be sent to the Treasurer Mr. Walter Leaf, Old Change, E.C.

It has long been felt that the Library of the Society, which, though not large, contains some of the chief archaeological journals, would be of more use to members if it were placed in a room which was entirely at the disposal of the Society. The Council are glad to be able to announce that during the past year they have obtained from the Royal Asiatic Society the sole use of the small room at 22, Albemarle Street, in which the books have hitherto been kept. Here members may consult the books on any day between 11 and 5. The Rev. W. Wayte has kindly accepted the office of Hon. Librarian, and Miss Gales has been appointed Assistant Librarian. It is to Miss Gales, at 22, Albemarle Street, that members should address themselves, who wish to borrow any book under the conditions laid down in the Library Rules. It is hoped before long to issue to members a Catalogue of the present contents of the Library, and additions will thereafter be recorded in each yearly volume of the *Journal*. Members are reminded that contributions of books bearing on any branch of Hellenic Study will be gratefully received.

The financial position of the Society is set forth in the accompanying Balance Sheet. The receipts of the year, including the subscriptions of members and of libraries, and the sale of the *Journal* to non-members, amount to £732 15s. 10d. The expenditure, which covers the cost of Vol. VI. of the *Journal*, and includes the above-named grants for excavations at Naucratis and at Samos, amounts to £769 14s. 11d. During the past year more Life-subscriptions to the amount of £220 10s. have been invested in Consols, making a total of £714 so invested. The present balance at the bank is £621 13s. 10d. A further asset is the sum of £95 7s. 9d., advanced more than a year ago towards the cost of photographing the Laurentian MS. of Sophocles. It is hoped that the sale of the remaining copies of the MS. will allow of this sum being repaid by the end of the present year. Lastly, there are arrears of subscriptions amounting to about £160, so that on the whole the financial position of the Society may be regarded as very satisfactory.

Since the last Annual Meeting thirty-eight new members have been elected, and eight libraries have been added to the list of subscribers. Against this increase must be set the loss of nine members by death or resignation, so that the net increase of members and subscribers is 37; the present total of members being 624, and of subscribers 72.

It will be seen from this Report that the Society still steadily advances, and can look back upon another year of efficient work in the promotion of Hellenic Studies. But the Council must not, in conclusion, omit to remind members that constant effort is necessary on the part of all concerned to maintain and improve upon the progress of the past seven years. And the most effective mode of helping forward the cause which all have at heart is to be found in the steady yearly increase of the number of members.

# "THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES" ACCOUNT.

	1885.	£	s.	d.	1886.	£	s.	d.	By Sales of Journal, July 1, 1884, to June 30, 1885 . . . . .	£	s.	d.
June 1.	To Prætorius, for Photo. and Engraving . . . . .	11	8	0	Jan.				" Balance to Cash Account . . . . .	482	12	4
" 4.	" Photograph, per Prof. Colvin . . . . .	1	1	0								
July 29.	" Autotype Company, Account . . . . .	64	11	6								
	" Dickinson & Co., Paper Account . . . . .	24	8	0								
	" Brunner & Co., Account . . . . .	42	10	0								
Oct. 6.	" Clay & Sons, Printing Vol. vi, Part i . . . . .	122	0	9								
	" Packing and Carriage to Members . . . . .	23	14	3								
Dec. 11.	" Blunt, for Drawing . . . . .	145	15	2								
1886.		10	10	0								
Feb. 5.	" Autotype Company, Account . . . . .	55	7	0								
" 26.	" Dickinson & Co., Paper Account . . . . .	15	19	0								
	" Kell's Account, for Lithographing . . . . .	4	10	0								
May 8.	" Clay & Sons, Printing Vol. vi, Part 2 . . . . .	131	4	2								
	" Packing and Carriage to Members . . . . .	21	6	6								
		152	10	8								
		£518	10	4								

## CASH STATEMENT.

1885.		£	s.	d.	1886.		£	s.	d.
May 30.	To Balance of last Statement . . . . .	879	2	11	June 10.	By Invested in Consols . . . . .	220	10	0
	" Dividends on Consols . . . . .	17	9	10	July 31.	" Stationery and Postage Account . . . . .	16	14	3
1885.					Oct. 20.	" Sundries Printing Account . . . . .	12	16	3
May 30.	" Members' Subscriptions, 1885-86 . . . . .	530	16	0	Dec. 11.	" Insurance on Stock at Printers . . . . .	2	12	6
	" " Life Subscription . . . . .	10	10	0		" Rent of Rooms to Sept. 1885 . . . . .	12	10	0
	" " Subscriptions, 1884 . . . . .	341	6	0	1886.				
	" " Arrears . . . . .	8	8	0	Jan. 6.	" Mr. Bent, for Excavations at Samos . . . . .	50	0	0
	" " For back Vols. of Journal . . . . .	25	14	6	Feb. 25.	" Stationery and Postage Account . . . . .	15	13	10
	" Library Subscriptions, 1885-86 . . . . .	71	8	0	" 26.	" Grant to Egypt Exploration Fund . . . . .	100	0	0
	" " " 1884 . . . . .	4	4	0	May 8.	" Cheque Book . . . . .	5	0	0
	" " Payments, for back Vols. . . . .	24	3	6		" Sundries Printing Account . . . . .	17	7	9
		99	15	6	30.	" Assistant Secretary, May 1885 to April 30, 1886 . . . . .	23	5	0
						" Balance of Journal Account . . . . .	482	12	4
						" " at Bankers . . . . .	621	13	10
		£1,576	0	9					
		£1,576	0	9					

We have examined this account, and compared it with the vouchers, and find it correct.

JOHN B. MARTIN.  
DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, } Auditors.

GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, *per Sec.*

June 16. 1886.

On a ballot being taken, the following officers were elected for the ensuing session: *President*, Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham; *Vice-Presidents*, Lord Justice Bowen, the Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. Sidney Colvin, Principal Geddes, Dr. J. K. Ingram, Professor R. C. Jebb, the Provost of Oriel, the Earl of Morley, Professor C. T. Newton, Professor A. H. Sayce, Mr. E. M. Thompson, the Master of Trinity, the Rev. H. F. Tozer, and Professor R. Y. Tyrrell.

The following were elected to fill vacancies on the *Council*: Mr. A. J. Evans, Mr. L. R. Farnell, Mr. E. Gardner, Professor J. H. Middleton, and Mr. A. S. Murray; while Professor P. Gardner, Dr. H. Holden, Dr. Hort, Mr. H. F. Pelham, Mr. W. C. Perry, and Mr. J. R. Thursfield were re-elected.

In the usual address from the chair PROFESSOR NEWTON reviewed the chief archaeological discoveries of the past year, mentioning first the remarkable archaic statues found by excavation on the Acropolis at Athens. These were most valuable as links in the development of Greek sculpture, especially as some of the figures bore distinct traces of colour. Photographs of these statues were exhibited by Dr. Waldstein. Of the excavations at Eleusis a full report was not yet forthcoming, but in Boeotia a temple of Apollo had been found, which contained bronzes similar in character to the Apollo of Kanachos. In Crete a grotto had been found which was considered to be identical with the traditional birthplace of Zeus. An inscription found in the island of Lemnos and published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* was particularly interesting because, though in Greek character, it was quite unintelligible. It was suggested that the language might be Pelasgic. The speaker then referred to the intended completion of the German excavations at Pergamon and to the appearance at Berlin of the first instalment of the official report of the previous discoveries there. In Asia Minor, Dr. Sterrett, who was prominent among American workers in the field of classical archaeology, had been extraordinarily diligent and successful in collecting inscriptions. He had, moreover, identified the site of Lystra. In this connexion it might

appropriately be mentioned that Professor W. M. Ramsay was now prosecuting further researches in Asia Minor. The Evangelical School at Smyrna had in the past year resumed its important publication of inscriptions. A patriotic Greek gentleman in Constantinople, Mr. Mavrogordato, had given a large sum for the examination and tabulation of MSS. in the monasteries of the Levant. Some remarkable MSS., such as letters of Julian and Libanius, had already been discovered, and were being published, with a complete catalogue, in the *Proceedings* of the 'Ελληνικός Φιλολόγικος Σύλλογος of Constantinople. The papyri found at Fayum, in Egypt, had now been arranged at Vienna, and a provisional report had been published. Among them were a MS. of St. Matthew's Gospel and part of that of St. Mark, which was thought to be the earliest in existence; a very early MS. of the *Gorgias* of Plato; fragments of Hesiod, of the *Argonautica*, and of the *Odyssey*; and many documents belonging to the Alexandrian and Arab epochs, which would require years of study. In conclusion, the Chairman referred to the thoroughness and beauty of illustration which distinguished the archaeological publications of France, Germany, and even of so poor a country as Greece, and expressed the wish that private aid were more readily forthcoming to make such publications possible in England.

MR. E. GARDNER gave a short provisional account of the year's work at Naucratis. The cemetery had been uncovered, but yielded little of importance, as all the graves were considerably later than the period of the real prosperity of Naucratis. The temples of the Dioscuri and of Aphroditê had been cleared, and were interesting as showing the readiness of the Greeks to adapt their architecture to local conditions. These temples were built in the simplest form out of the material of the district, viz., mud-brick. Three temples of Aphroditê, belonging respectively to the Ptolemaic period, the fifth century B.C., and at latest the end of the seventh century B.C., had been found superimposed. The most important find of the year was a thick stratum of miscellaneous fragments of pottery and statuettes on a level

with the floor of the earliest temple of Aphroditè. Some specimens of pottery, of Rhodian character, were shown to the meeting, and it is hoped that many more vases may be pieced together from the innumerable fragments brought home. One kind was conspicuous by its absence, viz., the ordinary black and buff, whether black figured or red figured. The statuettes were strikingly Egyptian in character, though of Greek workmanship. Mr. Gardner considered that these fragments when carefully examined would throw much light upon the early history of Greek pottery, painting, and sculpture. Egyptian influence was particularly noticeable, but the workmanship was still strictly Hellenic, both in spirit and execution.

The HON. SECRETARY read a short paper by Mr. Bent upon his 'Recent Visit to Samos.'

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**A Special General Meeting** was held by permission in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries on *July 2, 1886*, for the purpose of discussing the remains at Tiryns, DR. SCHLIEMANN and DR. DÖRPFELD being present by invitation. DR. J. EVANS, President of the Society of Antiquaries, was in the Chair.

MR. F. C. PENROSE read a short paper based upon notes taken during a recent visit to Tiryns and Mycenæ. After explaining that his visit had been hurried, so that he did not profess to come forward with any detailed statement, Mr. Penrose said that the question he wished to raise was whether the walls uncovered by Dr. Schliemann at Tiryns belong to the same epoch of civilisation as the so-called Treasury of Atreus and the Lion Gate at Mycenæ. Undoubtedly strong arguments in favour of the antiquity of these walls were brought forward in Dr. Schliemann's book, but a careful and unprejudiced examination might show that he had unconsciously overlooked circumstances which tell against his view. Mr. Penrose's main contention was that between the undoubted Pelasgic architecture of Mycenæ



and Tiryns and the so-called Palace of Tiryns the difference in character of work was fundamental. In short, they had nothing in common. Meanly-built walls of quite small stones, worked with the saw and chisel and with a tubular metal drill, seemed to him inconsistent with the Pelasgic period, especially as bricks—fairly burnt red bricks—were not unfrequently introduced. Dr. Schliemann's theory that these burnt bricks were due to a conflagration which destroyed the palace was not borne out by the opinion of a practical brickmaker to whom Mr. Penrose had submitted the point. The true Pelasgic walls had been dressed without metal tools, whereas the numerous cuts seen in the walls of the palace at Tiryns were clearly produced by a metal saw. If this fact be admitted, could a people who used steel or iron for their tools have been content to use only bronze for their weapons? Again, in some of the walls claimed as pre-Homeric stones occurred which were obviously borrowed from older structures, and were yet of regular Hellenic workmanship, as found in classical times. The plan of the building at Tiryns might be that of a Greek house, but Professor Jebb had disputed its analogy with the plan of an Homeric palace. In short, it was hard to conceive that the same men could have built these slovenly walls and such walls as those of the Treasury of Atreus. Without discussing in detail the objects found at Tiryns and Mycenae, Mr. Penrose doubted whether the pre-Homeric character of the treasures and pottery had yet been perfectly established. The decorations at Tiryns, to judge at least from the drawings, had some archaic character about them, but might be bad imitations of earlier work.

DR. SCHLIEMANN, after sketching the history of his work at Tiryns, proceeded to reply in some detail to the objections of Mr. Stillman and others. As this palace was practically the first Greek private house that had been discovered, it was natural that its character should have been disputed, especially by those who had not studied his book *Tiryns* on the spot. Since the excavation the floors and thresholds had been purposely covered over to preserve them from exposure,

and a visitor to Tiryns not provided with Dr. Dörpfeld's plans might easily fail to identify these and other essential details. He might as easily fall into the blunder of mistaking prehistoric for Byzantine building. An instance of such liability to error, on the part of those not fully informed of all the circumstances of the excavation, was that of the boundary walls of the tombs at Mycenae, to which reference had been made by Mr. Penrose. Their conglomerate character, including fragments of true Hellenic building, was fully accounted for by the fact that they were not yet ten years old, having been rebuilt by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1878, from materials lying on the spot, in order to consolidate the terrace of the tombs. These were the walls which Mr. Stillman, Mr. Penrose, and their companions, on the ground of their containing blocks of the classical period, had assumed to belong to, at earliest, the third century B.C., and to be the work of the Celtic barbarians who then overran Greece. There was no evidence whatever that the Celts at that time penetrated beyond Delphi. As to the objection that walls of quarry stone bonded with mortar were unworthy of the heroic age, it was sufficient to point out that such walls, consisting in the lower part of quarry stones and in the upper of sun-dried bricks, had been found in prehistoric buildings in all parts of Greece—at Troy, at Eleusis, in Cephalonia, and in the island of Thera. Dr. Schliemann then alluded to the wall-paintings, which were of the most archaic design, and bore the same patterns as had been found at Orchomenus and elsewhere in buildings certainly 2,000 years older than the foundation of the Byzantine Empire. Similarly the objects of human industry found at Tiryns could only be compared with those of prehistoric character which had been dug up in other parts of the world. In conclusion, Dr. Schliemann expressed the hope that scientific experts might visit the ruins at Tiryns with his book in hand, and test for themselves the accuracy of the statements and plans there given. He and his collaborator, Dr. Dörpfeld, were quite content to leave it to the judgment of such travellers, whether the result of the excavations at Tiryns

deserved to be described, as Mr. Stillman had described it in the *Times*, as 'one of the most extraordinary hallucinations of unscientific enthusiasts which literature of all times can record.' In a letter to the *Times* Dr. Dörpfeld had offered to accompany Mr. Stillman to Tiryns and Mycenae, that he might convince him of his error; but Mr. Stillman had taken no notice of the proposal. Undaunted by the severe criticism which their work had at times met with in England, Drs. Schliemann and Dörpfeld had just planned another archaeological enterprise with pickaxe and spade, and the appreciation of the Hellenic Society would serve as a great spur and encouragement in this new campaign.

MR. NEWTON then read a paper by Dr. Dörpfeld, who began by expressing his readiness to explain any point upon which doubts had been raised in regard to the discoveries at Tiryns. After alluding to Mr. Stillman's letters to the *Times*; in which he had first maintained that the palace at Tiryns was the work of Celtic barbarians in the Macedonian period, and afterwards adopted an alternative theory that the building was Byzantine, Dr. Dörpfeld discussed in detail the question whether the Palace of Tiryns and the tombs at Mycenae really belonged to the heroic age. It had long been erroneously supposed that nearly all buildings of the classical age in Greece were made of rectangular stones, so that walls of a different character, whether of quarry stones bonded with clay mortar or of sun-dried bricks, were held to be Roman or Byzantine, or even barbarian and modern. This supposition was directly traversed by Vitruvius, who expressly described walls of sun-dried brick, and praised them for their lasting qualities, and stated further that not only private houses, but the royal palaces of the Attalides in Tralles, of Croesus at Sardis, and of Mausolus at Halicarnassus, were built of them. Dr. Dörpfeld went on to point out that wherever such walls were found in Greece or Asia Minor the lower parts were composed, as at Tiryns, of irregular stones, either with or without mortar. They were also wainscoted on both sides with clay or lime plaster, which was often covered with painting. Their angles were provided with

regular square-cut stones or with timber beams. The same style of architecture constantly occurred in the most ancient edifices of Mesopotamia and Egypt, and we might well suppose that the Greeks had learnt it from the people of those countries at a very early date. In the face of such facts no one who had really studied the art of building among the Greeks and Romans would maintain that such walls as described were incompatible with the classical or the heroic age. There were four main points for determining the date of such walls when found :

(1) The later the date the greater the likelihood of finding in the walls other materials than quarry stones and unbaked bricks, as, *e.g.*, fragments of classical building, kiln-burnt bricks, or especially clay tiles. If these occurred the wall could hardly date from the heroic age.

(2) The style of painting on the lime wainscoting was a sure test of age, for a wall could not possibly be later than the plaster which covered it.

(3) The material and workmanship of the parastades, of the free-standing columns, and of the door-sills were another sure test of age.

(4) There was the evidence of potsherds and other objects found near a wall, but into this point Dr. Dörpfeld, as an architect, did not propose to enter. Applying these tests to the case of Tiryns :

(1) After four months' careful examination Dr. Dörpfeld had found no trace of other materials in the walls of the palace than quarry stones bonded with clay and sun-dried bricks. Appearances which had been attributed by Mr. Penrose, Mr. Stillman, and others to the presence of kiln-burnt bricks and of lime mortar were in fact due to a conflagration which had destroyed the palace, and had in parts calcined the walls. Walls which did contain other material would be found on close examination to belong either to the foundations of a Byzantine church or to Byzantine tombs, as indicated in the plan.

(2) The wall-paintings, some of which were found *in situ* on the walls, while others lay on the floor, agreed closely in

design and ornamentation with the stone reliefs of the dome-shaped tombs at Mycenae and with the famous ceiling of the Thalamos found at Orchomenus. The great antiquity of those examples had never been doubted. Walls decorated with such designs could not be otherwise than pre-historic.

(3) As to the working of the antae and the door-sills, this had been carried out at Tiryns with the stone-saw, the pick-axe, and the cylindrical bore, the very instruments whose use was characteristic of the dome-shaped tombs and the Lion Gate at Mycenae. The use of these tools at Tiryns had strangely been taken by Mr. Stillman as direct evidence of the lateness of the building. Dr. Dörpfeld was quite prepared to prove on the spot that they had been used in the admittedly prehistoric buildings at Mycenae. Further evidence of the antiquity of the palace was furnished by the close correspondence of the angles of the outer wall of the Acropolis with those of the palace. The masonry of the inner and outer walls was really identical, though in the one case small and in the other colossal stones had been used, a natural distinction between the walls of a dwelling-house and of a fortress. Again, the alabaster frieze, inlaid with small pieces of Egyptian glass (*κύανος*), found in the vestibule of the Megaron, closely resembled in construction and design the reliefs found in the treasury at Orchomenus. Similar friezes had been found in most ancient buildings in Mesopotamia, and such a frieze of *κύανος* was distinctly mentioned by Homer in his description of the palace of Alcinoüs. In conclusion, Dr. Dörpfeld touched on the question of the agreement of the plan of the palace at Tiryns with the dwelling-house implied in various parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. He doubted whether Homer's statements were complete enough to allow of a trustworthy reconstruction of the Homeric palace, but in his opinion, though Homer nowhere described the palace at Tiryns, there was essential agreement between his statements and the plan of that palace. Dr. Dörpfeld considered that the technical evidence he had brought forward could only be met by actual counter-proofs

that the palace at Tiryns dated from Macedonian or even Byzantine times.

As Mr. Stillman was not able to be present, MR. PELHAM, who explained that he to some extent shared the doubts expressed by Messrs. Penrose and Stillman, read a paper which Mr. Stillman had written for the occasion, and which briefly summed up the arguments he had already put forward. After long study of prehistoric monuments in Italy and in some parts of Greece, he had come to the conclusion that such buildings showed no evidence of stone-cutting proper, *i.e.*, the use of edge tools, chisels, &c., in shaping stone to its position. No appliances seem to have been used beyond the drill, the stone-axe or hammer, and trituration. Any ruin to be attributed to the prehistoric epoch in which Tiryns was founded must conform to these technical conditions. But at Tiryns the stones were cut with a chisel, sawn, and drilled with a tubular drill of apparently rather modern and excellent metallic make, laid with profusion of mortar, and accompanied by burnt bricks, all indications of a comparatively modern date. Further, the bases of the columns were cut in a rude and slovenly style, and no columns had been found to correspond. The Acropolis walls—the latest visible work of the classical Tiryns—were of a solid, deliberate, and most painstaking character; while the house walls, with their rude bases for columns (which were probably of built-up material), were hasty, flimsy, and entirely unlike any archaic work the writer had ever seen. Such technical indications forbade the hypothesis of an early barbarism antecedent to Greek civilisation, so the only alternative was to come down to a relapse into barbarism after the fall of that civilisation. Tiryns was unoccupied in the time of Pausanias, and there was no evidence of any occupation between the destruction of the city by the Argives and his time. Nor was there any trace of an occupation later than that to which we owed the walls now in question, although in places there seemed to be some evidence of buildings beneath them. In some parts of the ruin there were admitted evidences of Byzantine occupation, and there was no technical difference between the work ther

and elsewhere. Mr. Stillman's conclusion was that this Byzantine occupation was the only one which had taken place after the destruction of Tiryns by the Argives, and that the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann could only be attributed to the period of that occupation.

PROFESSOR MIDDLETON opened the discussion upon the papers which had been read. The main reasons, he said, against the antiquity of the building seemed to be (1) the fact that the stones of the wall of the palace were small compared with those of the outside wall. Of this the natural explanation was that in building a thin wall it would be extremely inconvenient to use large stones; (2) the tools employed were said not to be consistent with an early period. In his opinion the tools used in working the Tirynthian walls were a sharp-pointed hammer, a chisel, a saw, and two sorts of drills. All these were used in Egypt at a very early period. The drills and saw had clearly been used with some hard stone such as sapphire or emery, as might be seen from the rapidity with which they had cut into the stone. The rapidity of the saw-cuts and of the spirals of the drills would have been impossible with metal tools, and could only be explained by the use either of diamond-studded drills or of those worked with loose emery or powdered corundum—tools certainly of extreme antiquity. As to mortar or burnt bricks, even if they occurred in these walls (and Dr. Dörpfeld maintained the contrary) there was ample evidence of their use in other countries far earlier than the date claimed for the Tirynthian palace. Another proof of early age was the use of wooden columns. Not a single stone column had been found. It was generally accepted that wooden columns were only used in very early times. Again, the extreme care with which the walls had been originally built was another evidence in favour of Dr. Schliemann's and against Mr. Stillman's theory. Though built of rubble they were first smoothed outside with clay, then overlaid with three coats of stucco, the last, which took the paintings, being almost of pure lime. In some rooms the walls had further a carefully-fitted wooden lining, as was proved by dowel marks, and in some cases pegs still existing

in the wall. The constant occurrence in the *débris* of small pieces of bronze made it almost certain that metal plates had been nailed to the wooden planks. This style of ornamentation, which must have had an extraordinarily rich effect, was mentioned in Homer, and was known to have been used in the Treasury of Atreus. The alabaster frieze and the wall-paintings were in their character and design further unmistakable evidence of archaic work, showing distinct traces of Phœnician and Egyptian influence.

MR. PELHAM said that his position was that of one who waited to have his doubts removed. He had seen a large number of prehistoric remains in Italy and a few in Greece, and certain points in these remains at Tiryns had certainly startled him. He asked whether the walls rested on the natural rock or on *débris*. (To this Dr. Schliemann at once replied that they went down to the rock.) Then the character of the work—not merely the smallness of the stones, which Professor Middleton had explained—seemed to him far more slovenly than one would have expected. Then there was need of some clearer line of distinction between the early work and that which was admitted to be Byzantine. Where did the latter end and the prehistoric work begin? As to the use of mortar, he did not think that the Roman instances adduced by Professor Middleton were conclusive, nor did he think that much would be gained for the decision of the question at issue by instances drawn from buildings which could conceivably have come under the influence of Etruria.

Replying to some of the objections raised, DR. SCHLIEMANN dwelt particularly upon the very perfect system of drainage which had been discovered in the palace.

Replying to Mr. Penrose, DR. DÖRPFELD asserted that no *burnt brick* had been found in any part of the building that was claimed as prehistoric, as he was prepared to prove to any one on the spot. As to the tools used, they were identical with those of which traces were clearly visible on the admittedly prehistoric walls in Tiryns, Mycenæ, and Orchomenus. This also he was prepared to prove to any one on the spot.



He held, therefore, that the main contentions of Messrs. Penrose and Stillman fell to the ground.

MR. PENROSE, replying on his part, said that no discussion could really settle the questions at issue that did not, as Drs. Schliemann and Dörpfeld had suggested, take place on the spot. He was surprised, however, to hear Dr. Dörpfeld's assertion that no burnt bricks were found except in the so-called Byzantine church. Though he had no notes to refer to, his recollection was strong that they occurred elsewhere. He had already brought forward the opinion of a practical brick-maker that the phenomena could not be accounted for by the theory of a conflagration. Dr. Dörpfeld had quoted Vitruvius, but he had always understood Vitruvius to refer in that passage not to sun-dried, but to kiln-burnt bricks. Mr. Penrose added that he would be quite satisfied with his part in the discussion if it had encouraged further examination of this most interesting discovery, which, whatever the outcome, must reflect the greatest possible credit on Dr. Schliemann and his able coadjutor.

MR. KARL BLIND quoted Mr. James Fergusson's opinion in support of the antiquity of the Tirynthian palace, and the discussion closed.

**THE CAMBRIDGE BRANCH**

OF

**THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES.**

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**SESSION of 1885-6.**

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*December 1, 1885.*

**The Annual Meeting** was held in the Archaeological Library on *Tuesday, December 1*, at 4 P.M.

The Master of Trinity College was re-elected Chairman, Professor Sidney Colvin Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Oscar Browning Secretary. The retiring Members of the Committee, Professor S. Colvin, Mr. O. Browning, Dr. Reid and Dr. Jackson were re-elected.

PROFESSOR COLVIN read a paper on the 'Statuette of a River God,' formerly belonging to J. M. W. Turner. This is the only extant river god in the round, which can certainly be identified as such, and analogous to the figures of the river god of the Parthenon which is only identified by inference. The style is 'Pergamene'; the treatment of the muscles and of the hair being both analogous to that of the Pergamene sculptures. Perhaps more members of the group to which this belonged may be hereafter identified.

MR. VERRALL read a paper on the 'σῆρυξ in the Chariot-wheel,' as described by the Attic tragedians. The object of

the paper was to show that the interpretation 'box' or 'nave-hole,' commonly given, is inconsistent with other meanings of *σῦριγξ* and with the use of the tragedians, and to call attention to the interpretation given by the scholiast on Aesch. *Septem contra Thebas* 205, according to which the *σῦριγες* were the 'cross-staves' in an archaic type of wheel, the predecessor of the form with spokes.

March 11, 1886.

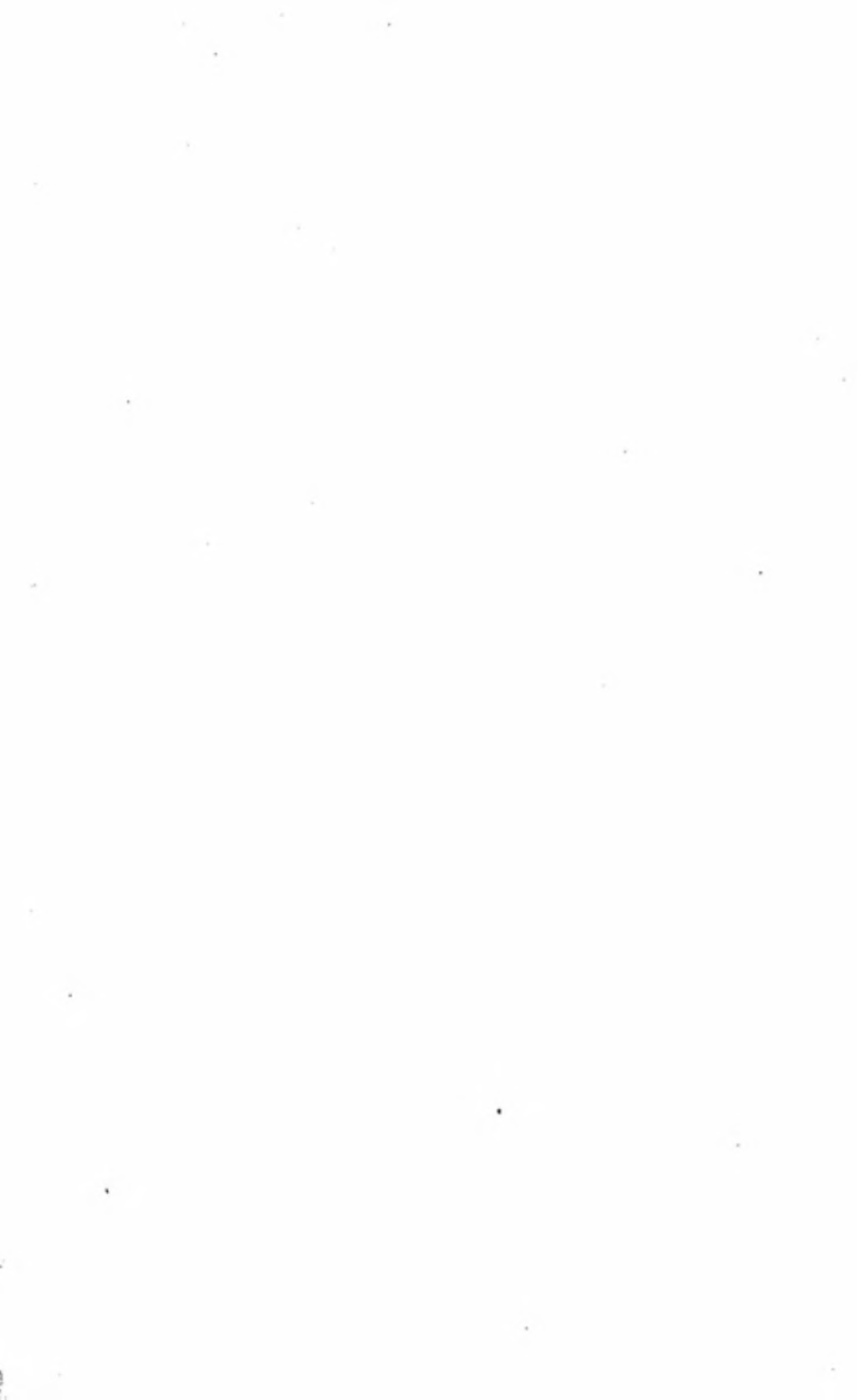
**The Terminal Meeting** was held in the Archaeological Library at 4 P.M. on *Thursday, March 11th, 1886.*

MR. WALDSTEIN read a paper on the 'Statue of the Venus Genetrix in the Louvre' and the 'Esquiline Venus, in the museum of the Capitol.' He pointed out that the statue of the Venus Genetrix (of which many replicas exist) had previously been compared with the representation of a Venus Genetrix on a coin of Sabina, and had thus been brought into connection with the famous statue of the Venus Genetrix by the sculptor Arkesilaos. This view had since been abandoned.

Without any reference to the comparison of the statue with the coin and to its possible attribution to Arkesilaos, he had found that the peculiar characteristics of style manifested in this Venus were most nearly approached, of all most excellent works known to him, in the female figure of the bronze group at Naples known as Orestes and Electra, especially when the difference of material (marble and bronze) was taken into account; and he was thus led to conclude that the Venus Genetrix most closely approached the school and the age of Pasiteles, to which the Naples group must beyond doubt be ascribed. When these facts were borne in mind, a reconsideration of the coin showed that there were noticeable similarities between the figure on the coin and the statue in the Louvre; that the coin reproduced with the greatest probability the statue of the Venus Genetrix in her temple dedicated by Caesar in the year 46 B.C.; that the statue dedicated by Caesar was by the sculptor Arkesilaos, the well-

known contemporary of Pasitelès, mentioned in the same passage with him by Pliny quoting Varro; and that thus the attribution of the type of the statue in the Louvre to the sculptor Arkesilaos receives the very strongest support.

MR. WALDSTEIN did not propose to enter upon the question of the interpretation of the interesting statue of the Esquiline Venus. He enumerated the peculiarities of style in this statue, laying particular stress on the contrast between the extreme delicacy and realism in the modelling of the nude body of this figure and the return to almost archaic simplicity and severity in the upper part of the head (nose, brow, hair). These peculiarities he believed to be those of the school of Pasiteles, and he therefore ventured to ascribe also this statue to that period and school.





## A STATUETTE REPRESENTING A BOY AND GOOSE.

THE silver statuette which is described in the present paper, and which is represented in the accompanying Plate (A.), acquires a peculiar interest both from its subject and from the circumstances of its discovery. In the first aspect it belongs to an exceedingly numerous class; a boy struggling or playing with a goose seems to have been a very favourite subject with Greek artists of certain periods; the popularity of such representations and the frequency with which they were reproduced are testified by at least fifty extant examples in various galleries and museums throughout Europe. But though belonging to so numerous a family, our specimen differs considerably, both in character and in composition, from all its other members; not more, however, than many of these differ among themselves. Then again, this statuette was discovered together with a hoard of coins, and thus we are able to fix at least a posterior limit of date for the invention not only of the type we find in this figure, but also of all others which show an affinity to it so close as to compel us not to assign them to any very distant period. It is clear, therefore, that we have here an additional clew of no small importance, which may help in the solution of a problem that has already given rise to much controversy among archaeologists.

The interest attracted by this class of figures in recent years may be dated from the paper in which two of them were

published from drawings, with a description by Jahn,<sup>1</sup> a paper of great importance to our subject. In it was made the first attempt to bring together the material which is now before us; and it contained also a conjecture which has since met with almost universal acceptance. This was the identification of the boy who struggles with a goose as big as himself as a copy of a work of Boethos, described by Pliny. We shall be better in a position to consider this conjecture and the grounds upon which it rests after we have reviewed all our available material; here it is enough to note its first appearance. Next in date comes the contribution of M. Stephani,<sup>2</sup> who in commenting on certain terra-cottas in the Ermitage takes occasion, with characteristic thoroughness, to quote a far longer list of examples. Then again, Dr. Furtwängler, in his paper entitled *Der Dornauszieher und der Knabe mit der Gans*, endeavours to refute the suggestion of Overbeck, connecting the bronze boy of the Capitol who is occupied in drawing a thorn from his foot with another work of Boethos; and in order to do so gives a sketch of the whole history of 'Genre' representations in Greek art. Such of his arguments as are pertinent to our present subject will also have to be subsequently considered, as well as the suggestion of Overbeck which gave rise to them. But after briefly mentioning these chief authorities, it will be best first to enumerate and classify the now numerous examples of statues to which the common description 'a boy with a goose' will apply: after we have the facts thus clearly arranged before us, we shall be better able to see both how well the views held by previous writers are justified, and what new light may be thrown upon the subject by this the most recent addition to the list.

This list, as has been previously stated, amounts now to some fifty specimens; and these may be assigned, for greater convenience and clearness in enumeration, to some six leading types. By such a proceeding it is not assumed that all the examples of any type may be traced to a common original; in some cases they certainly can be so traced, in others they as certainly cannot. But this classification will help us both to see which types were the most popular, and also perhaps to observe the connection,

<sup>1</sup> *Sitzungsber. d. K. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1848, pp. 47, 497.

<sup>2</sup> *Compte Rendu*, 1863, p. 55.



if any, which existed between them. As to what subjects are included in the list, one statement must be added—the word ‘goose’ in our heading must be interpreted widely; indeed, perhaps ‘aquatic bird’ would have been more correct; for it is sometimes magnified into a swan, sometimes diminished to a duck; one or two even more doubtful instances have been admitted. But too great strictness on such a matter is precluded by uncertainty not only in restorations but also in the works themselves; the bird, treated as an accessory, is sometimes but carelessly executed, and has its characteristics but slightly indicated; its relative size, in particular, being liable to endless variations.

After thus much introduction, we may now proceed to the enumeration and classification of our material.

Type I. represents a boy standing, and pressing to his side or breast a goose with his left hand; his right arm varies in position. It is either bent, the right hand feeding or caressing the goose (1, 2, 3, 4, 5),<sup>1</sup> or raised (10), or hangs down by the right side (6, 7, 8, 9). The boy is either nude, or draped only by a small chlamys. To this type belong the following:—

1. In the Theseion, Athens: described by Jahn, *Sitzungsber. der K. Sächs. Ges. der Wiss.* 1848, p. 49.<sup>2</sup>

Boy nude; holds finger of right hand to beak of goose, which he presses to his breast with left: heads of boy and goose gone.

2. Formerly in possession of Herr von Lagrené, described by Jahn, *ibid.* p. 50.

Older boy; holds goose to side, and bends over it, right arm lost, but probably as in 1.

3. In British Museum; Clarac, 876, 2228, C.

Presses bird to breast with left, feeds it with right hand.

4. Nani Museum, 226 in published description.

In chlamys: probably like 3, but head and right arm gone.

5. At Leyden, bronze. Müller-Wieseler *Denkmäler*, 1, 291.

Nude, holds duck in left hand, strokes its beak with right.

<sup>1</sup> Jahn would so restore also 6.

<sup>2</sup> No attempt has been made to render the references complete. Only that one has been given in each case

which seemed most convenient as a means of identification. For further references see Stephani, *l.c.*

#### 4 A STATUETTE REPRESENTING A BOY AND GOOSE.

In the four that follow, the right arm falls by side.

6. Vatican. Clarac, 878, 2231.

Boy in chlamys, holds small long necked bird to breast.

7. Vatican. Clarac, 878, 2233.

Larger bird, restored as eagle, rests on left arm; right arm lowered rests on pillar.

8. Vatican. Pistolesi, *Vat. descr.* vi. 38.

Bird pressed to side with left hand.

9. Naples. Clarac, 877, B., 2228, D.

Boy nude, both arms down, in right grapes, in left goose, or duck.

10. Naples. Clarac, 875, 2228, B., bronze.

Goose or swan pressed to side by left hand, right raised. Boy nude, winged.

Similar to these are also, probably, the next two :<sup>1</sup>

11. Rome (uncertain). Adam, *Rec. de Sculpture*. Pl. 20.

12. Bronze. Caylus, *Rec. de l'Antiquité*, iii. 48.

Under this type, though slightly different, may best be mentioned also the following :—

14. Vatican. Pistolesi, *Vat. descr.* vi. 38.

A boy, standing, holds with both hands, gently, a bird in front of him.

15. Rome, Coll Giust. Clarac, 878, 2228. A.

A boy, with left foot raised on a low pillar, and a curious cap on his head, holds up goose in both hands in front of him.

16. 17. Clarac, 876, 2236, A., 878, 2239.

These two are obviously identical in design : in 16, a boy fully draped holds a small bird in each hand; in 17, the hands are otherwise restored. Furtwängler quotes these, but the birds are too small to belong to our present class at all.

18. R. Rochette, *Choix de Peint.*, p. 135, vign. 8.

Described by Jahn; a terra-cotta group representing a boy and a girl playing with a goose.

- 16, 17, and 18 of course have no real connection with type I., nor, indeed, with our subject at all; they are merely

<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to refer to these works, but quote 11 and 12 here, because of those among which they are

mentioned by Stephani, and which they probably resemble.

inserted here, as the most convenient place, because they have been quoted by previous writers.

Type II. The boy stands, and the goose is beside him, either on the ground or on a low pillar; the relations between the two are still friendly; the goose (or other bird) larger in proportion.

19. Ince Blundell collection. Clarac, 875, 2232, B.

The bird stands on the ground, by the side of the boy, and comes up to his shoulder.

20. Stockholm. Clarac, 877, B., 2232, C.

The bird, more like a swan than a goose, stands on a stump beside the boy, and holds a snake in its beak.

21. Terra-cotta, Ermitage. *Compte Rendu*, 1863, Pl. I., 4.

Goose stands beside boy, who feeds it with his left hand and lays right on its neck.

22. Rome. Coll. Giust. Clarac, 878, 2232, A.

Boy stands, turning to bird on his left, on low pillar, and holds it gently with both hands.

Type III. The boy is seated beside the goose on the ground and caresses it with his hand.

23. Ermitage, terra-cotta. *Compte Rendu*, 1863, Pl. i. 5.

Boy caresses goose with left hand.

24. Naples. Clarac, 874, D., 2230, B.

The bird looks up, the boy holds it gently with both hands.

Type IV. appears to have been the most popular of all in ancient times, at least if we can judge from the number of reproductions still extant. A quite young boy, almost a baby, is seated upon the ground; he is half supported on his left arm, which also presses down a bird, generally more like a duck than a goose. The child's face is turned upwards and away from it, and together with his raised right arm seems to indicate an appeal for help to an imaginary bystander, perhaps even to the spectator himself. The frequent repetitions of this subject may be due partly to the fact that it lent itself conveniently to fountain decoration, a pipe being inserted into the upturned beak of the bird; this explanation will not, however, apply to the small terra-cottas.

- 25. Vatican. Clarac, 877, 2229.
- 26. Florence. Clarac, 877, A., 2230, A.
- 27. Florence. Clarac, 877, 2230.

These three all correspond exactly to the above description : probably similar are the following :

- 28. Vatican. Gerhard. *Beschr. Roms.* ii. 2. p. 252, 19.  
'Knabe auf dem Boden sitzend, mit einer Ente.' Apparently not identical with 25.
- 29. In possession of Cavaceppi, quoted by Zannoni, *Gall. di Fir. ill.* Ser. IV. 2, p. 75, as similar to 26 and 27.
- 30. In possession of the Marchese Giugni, on same authority.
- 31. In the Pal. Farnese di Caprarola, quoted by Visconti, *Mus. Pio. Clem.* III. 46, as similar to 25.
- 32. In possession of Cardinal Cesi, according to Aldroandi, stat. 137, as quoted by Jahn. 'Un putto che preme un' ansera per fargli jettar acqua dal collo, tutto intero.' The description seems to suit this type better than type V, to which Jahn would assign this example. It is of course possible that between 29 and 32 the same example may be twice mentioned.

Next in order come two which are distinctly derived from this type, but modified by slight changes.

- 33. In the Pourtalès collection ; Pl. xxviii. of Panofka's description.

A vase, in the shape of a seated boy ; his left hand rests on the ground, his right passes in front of his body across to his left, and there presses down a goose. He looks up and smiles,

- 34. Ermitage : terra-cotta. *Ant. du Bosp. Cim.* 72, 3.  
Boy seated, right hand on goose, left raised. This is merely type IV. reversed.
- 35, 36. Ermitage : terra-cotta. These two are described as similar to the last by Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1863, p. 55, n. 2.
- 37. Described in *Arch. Zeit.* 1848, p. 301, No. 155.  
Regarded by Stephani, *ibid.*, as probably similar.
- 38. In University Library, Athens. *Annali d. Inst.* xxxi. Tav. A.  
Boy standing, leans against pillar, on which he presses down a duck or goose with his left hand. This may appear

from the description to belong rather to type I. or II., but the position of the bird and left arm of boy are so exactly similar to the same in this type IV., that the figure seems rather a modification of the latter, perhaps for a fountain with jet set higher.

Type V. is perhaps now the best known of all, especially in consequence of the plausible conjecture above referred to, connecting it with Boethos. It represents a boy striving with his whole weight against a goose as big as himself, whose neck he grasps in his arms. Of this numerous examples exist, though not so many as of type IV.

39. Rome. Capitol. Clarac, 874, C. 2227. A.

40. Vatican. Clarac, 875, 2227.

41. Paris. Clarac, 293, 694.

42. Munich. Clarac, 875, 2232.

These are obviously all marble copies of a common original. To them may be added four terra-cottas.

43. Ermitage. *Ant. du Bosp. Cim.* Pl. lxxiii. 1.

44. *a, b, c.* Three more similar, also in the Ermitage, quoted by Stephani in the *Compte Rendu*, l.c.

45. A small bronze in the British Museum, from the Payne Knight collection. Described as 'Cupid with swan'; obviously a copy of this type.

46. A small bronze, of very rude work, in the British Museum, described as 'Cupid with eagle.' The boy has wings; their addition in this case tends to weaken any argument drawn from their presence in others.

47. Naples. Clarac, 876, 2223.

Boy, with his knee on the back of a goose, struggles with it from behind. The subject here is the same, but the composition and treatment entirely different, and certainly not so happy.

48. Ermitage: terra-cotta. Described by Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1863, p. 55.

Goose pursues boy, pecking at his left hand. Here again of course there is no connection of type with the preceding examples. It is inserted here merely as again showing active hostility between the two playmates.

Type VI. will include our last three examples; though these

three seem quite independent of one another: but in all of them we find a boy seated on the ground, struggling with a goose.

49. Naples. *Ant. di Ercolano*, viii. *Le Lucerne ed i Candelabri d' Ercolano*, Pl. 19.

Bronze lamp. Winged Eros seated, goose stands by him, with chain of lamp round its foot. The boy holds with both arms the gooso, which cries and struggles to get away.



No. 51

50. Ermitage: terra-cotta. *Compte Rendu*, 1863, Pl. i. 6.

Boy sits on the ground: on one side a dog, on the other a goose, attack him to get some of the grapes he holds.

51. British Museum: silver. Unpublished.

Found near Alexandria, together with coins<sup>1</sup> which prove it to have been buried in the early years of Ptolemy III., *i.e.*, about 240 B.C.

Height  $3\frac{5}{8}$  inches, breadth across shoulders  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch. Complete, but lower part of back crushed and contorted. The boy holds the goose which lies on its back by the legs with left hand, by the bottom of its neck with right hand. He turns his head to his right, away from the bird, which vigorously grasps his left ear in its beak. The boy has some drapery, a chlamys, round his waist; his hair is gathered on the top of his head into a plait which runs right over to the back. His position is not so awkward as may appear from the photograph; but it was necessary to take him thus, as he was fixed to the stand. It must be remembered, moreover, that his lower portions have suffered considerable contortion from pressure.

52. A small and very rude bronze in the British Museum, similar, but not identical in design with 51. It is described as 'Cupid with eagle.' The boy has wings added, as in 46.

Here ends the list of our material; it remains to consider what are the chief questions of interest to which the facts before us have given rise. Firstly, there is the meaning and character of the representation; then the period and school, if not the particular artist, to which our various types may be assigned; and in close connection with this comes the relation

<sup>1</sup> For the accompanying classification of the coins I am indebted to my brother, Professor Percy Gardner:—

Details of Mr. Harris's coins found with the Statuette of a Boy and Goose, in the year A.D. 1844.

	<i>Egypt.</i>		<i>Phoenicia.</i>		<i>Asia Minor.</i>	
	<i>Δ</i>	<i>Ρ</i>	<i>Δ</i>	<i>Ρ</i>	<i>Δ</i>	<i>Ρ</i>
Ptolemy I. . . . .	1			1		2
Ptolemy I. or II. . . . .				1		3
Ptolemy II. . . . .				53	1	4
Ptol. I. and II. with Queens .	1					
Arsinoë II. . . . .		24		1		
Ptolemy III. . . . .		1		8		1

The find is believed to have taken place at Alexandria, and the number of Phoenician coins contained in it is not evidence to the contrary, as the coins struck in Phoenicia circulated in Egypt. The whole seems to have been buried in the early years of Ptolemy III., about B.C. 240.

of these types not only to one another, but also to certain other works which have been thought to show affinity to them, especially the boy who extracts a thorn from his foot, of whom we possess two curiously different classes of representations.

The first of these questions admits of a simple enough answer. Clearly we have here before us a mere *genre* representation; the description 'boy playing or struggling with a goose' is perfectly adequate, and in no case need we look for any meaning beyond this. Somewhat similar statues, such as that seen by Pausanias<sup>1</sup> in the grove of Trophonius at Lebadea, may have had a mythological significance, but no such need be assumed in the examples we are now considering. The character of the representation may not in itself preclude this supposition, for of course in Hellenistic times even distinctly mythological subjects received a *genre*-like treatment. But where no religious meaning is obvious, and other explanations are easy to find, it seems quite superfluous to go beyond common life for the origin of our subject. If Eros, in a few cases,<sup>2</sup> takes the place of the boy, it is surely as the mere representative of boyish mischief, and not in any divine capacity.

To *genre* then this subject most unquestionably belongs, and to *genre* in the more strict and distinctive sense of the word. For we may accept the distinction drawn by Furtwängler, even if we refuse to follow him entirely in the application which he makes of it, and the conclusions he draws therefrom. A *genre* representation he observes, may be such in virtue of the execution of the work, as was the case with the statues of Lykios and other artists of the Myronic school; or in virtue of the subject. The boys with geese may be considered as examples of the latter class; and to see this fully it is necessary to make an assumption formerly probable, and now placed beyond all doubt; the assumption that at least some examples of this class are to be assigned to the beginning of the Hellenistic period. The characteristic tendencies of this period which now concern us have been so clearly described by previous

<sup>1</sup> ix. 39, 3. This is a girl with a goose. Some examples of such figures occur, often hard to distinguish from Leda. But all such have been ex-

cluded from our present enumeration, which refers only to boys.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 10, 46, 49, 52.



writers that here a mere hint will suffice. The people, cooped up in large towns and surrounded by the artificiality of city life, felt a craving for nature and simplicity; and this craving was met in two ways; in poetry by the striving of the pastoral after a fictitious rustic simplicity; in sculpture, by those representations of child-life, of which we are now considering the most numerous and perhaps the most interesting series. The pastoral may afterwards have influenced painting and even sculpture, but we can scarcely trace an independent impulse of the latter in this direction, and so these children remain as our sculptural record of the tendency of the times in art. That children should most often be represented with their favourite playmates is but natural; the goose, however, who here occupies this favoured position, has unfortunately been surrounded with associations so different in modern times, that it is very hard for us properly to appreciate these groups. First of all it is necessary for us to get rid of all our prejudices against the bird, and its unfortunate reputation for both stupidity and braggart cowardice. In ancient times it was not so regarded; the goose was considered valiant, and also, from its domesticated habits, the very model for a good house-wife. Geese were constant inmates of the house, and were the much-loved companions of their mistress and her children, from the time of Penelope downwards. Fully to realise this one should read M. Stephani's article; he devotes more than a hundred pages to an elaborate discussion of the importance both mythological and social of the goose and other kindred birds. But perhaps an analogy will help the historical imagination better than facts, however conclusive in their array. Without venturing to decide the vexed question whether the domestic cat was known in Greece or not, one may at least safely assert that it did not there occupy the same position which it now holds among us. But that position was, in almost every way, exactly filled by the goose, whether as a model of domestic content, or as the friend and playmate of children. Now in modern art the cat, and especially the kitten, is constantly represented in conjunction with children; and if we can only bring ourselves to look upon these ancient geese in the same light, we shall have gone far to surmount the difficulty of appreciation which here meets us.

If we proceed next to consider the period and school to which our various types may be assigned, we have before us a somewhat complicated question. It has already been stated, by anticipation, that the subject best suits the beginning of the Hellenistic age. The treatment of the child, carried out with complete truth to nature, points also in most cases to that time. But of course distinctions must be made between the different types; and first those must be selected which admit of some external evidence being adduced to help our decision; in the scantiness of this evidence, it will become clear how much we are helped by the new clew that we have gained. But for it, we should be almost entirely dependent upon Jahn's conjecture; which we must consider, and at the same time another subject which has been brought into connection with it—the boy extracting a thorn from his foot. This subject survives in two types, one severely stylised and archaistic (or archaic), of which we may take as a representative the bronze boy of the Capitol,<sup>1</sup> the other realistic, best seen in the recently discovered Castellani example, now in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> To take first the most important and most probable conjecture, Jahn, learning from Pliny<sup>3</sup> that Boethos made a boy throttling a goose, suggested that in the statues of our Type V. we have copies immediately derived from the work so described. This suggestion was so probable and brilliant that it at once met with universal acceptance, and has since been regarded as an established fact on which to found less certain theories. And indeed, although the description of Pliny would apply almost as well to the quite as numerous figures of our type IV., for instance, and although no facts can be adduced in its favour beside the coincidence of subject already referred to, Jahn's identification will probably still continue to hold its ground. In any case, it is very likely that we have extant examples traceable to this work of Boethos, and that to him may be assigned the origination of the subject which afterwards proved so popular. But so successful a conjecture was followed by

<sup>1</sup> Three others, marble copies, in the Villa Borghese, at Florence, and at Berlin. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Plastik* II. p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Another, in possession of Baron

Rothschild, at Paris. *Gaz. Arch.* 1882, 9—11.

<sup>3</sup> xxxiv. 84. "Boethi...infans (ex aere ?) anserem strangulat." Foremend. see Overbeck, *S. Q.* 1597.

another; Overbeck proposed to identify the bronze boy of the Capitol with the nude seated boy by Boethos, which Pausanias saw in the Heraion at Olympia. Such an identity is of course not impossible, but utterly lacks proof,<sup>1</sup> especially as no affinity of style can be affirmed between the bronze and other supposed works of Boethos. But on the other hand we should be going too far if we refused, with Furtwängler, to assign this boy to the same period, at least in the original design. His attempt to prove a connection with the school of Myron has not met with acceptance;<sup>2</sup> and Kekulé's suspicion that the bronze is an eclectic and Pasitelean rendering of an earlier work<sup>3</sup> is confirmed by the subsequent discovery of the Castellani boy, which may represent more faithfully that original. Here our apparent digression leads us back again to our subject. For the Castellani figure, allowing for difference of size and material, shows an affinity both in type and in treatment with the silver statuette (No. 51), to which we are endeavouring to give its true place in the series.

What, then, is the relation of this statuette (No. 51), to the better known and more conspicuous of the types whose probable connection with Boethos we have just noticed? Perhaps we may here gain some help from literary notices. Almost all we know of that artist, beyond the facts already cited, is that he was especially famous as a worker in metal. Indeed Pliny,<sup>4</sup> even when mentioning his boy with the goose, remarks that silver was the material wherein he excelled; a<sup>1</sup> silver hydria by his hand was among the plunder of Verres. What then is more likely than that the one of his works which best suited the taste of his time, and therefore attained great popularity, may have given rise to numerous imitations either by himself, his pupils, or others working under his influence,

<sup>1</sup> The conjecture of Wieseler, *ἐπικυρτωρ* for *ἐπὶ κυρτωρ* is by no means convincing. Even if it be accepted, Overbeck's argument is but slightly strengthened.

<sup>2</sup> The type of face, for instance, is anything but Attic. F. anticipates this objection by replying that we have no original Myronic head. Yet surely we recognise the type, as distinctly as that of Polykleitos, for which also

we depend on copies. The same objection will apply to Brizio's connection with Kalamis.

<sup>3</sup> I learn that M. Kekulé has now given up this view, and holds that the statue is really archaic. Some archaeologists, however, still regard it as archaistic.

<sup>4</sup> L. c. "Boethi quanquam argento melioris."

executed in that material of which he was an acknowledged master? Such an imitation we may now have before us; no exact or slavish copy of the original work, but a variation upon its subject, adapted to the size and material in which it is executed. And it is an imitation which cannot be removed by more than one generation from the artist himself, and which may very well proceed from his own period and influence.

Since then in this one case we may attain comparative certainty, or at least conjecture is restricted within narrow limits, let us utilise the advantage we thus possess to take a general view of the results hitherto gained. Firstly, then, the original conception of this group representing a boy struggling with a goose seems attributable to Boethos; his probable date, at the very beginning of the Hellenistic period, favours such a supposition. The type hit the popular taste, and in consequence we have numerous reproductions of it, whether direct copies, as our type V. or possibly IV., or mere imitations reproducing the same subject with endless varieties of character and composition (types III. IV. VI.).<sup>1</sup> Probably the origination of some of these varieties is not far removed from the time or influence of Boethos himself. In later times the demand for copies reproducing all these varieties became considerable, and such were made in great numbers; they seem to have been especially popular as a decoration to fountains, the water-pipe being in some cases introduced through the beak of the goose. A similar use seems to have been made of certain other figures of boys; for instance, in the case of the Castellani boy, the rock on which he sits is pierced with holes for water; this type, however, though probably belonging in its origin to the same period, cannot without further evidence be confidently assigned to the influence of the same artist. The adaptation of the subject to a fountain is obvious; a boy after a journey sits down to wash his feet, and draw a thorn from them at the fountain. And an aquatic bird also appropriately finds its place beside the water. To this fact is partly due the large number of the reproductions of a boy with an aquatic bird, which we still possess: but the

<sup>1</sup> Types I. and II. are too distinct to be immediately derived, but in them a result of the same influence may perhaps be seen.

majority of these were doubtless produced in Roman times to meet the demand of the numerous builders of artistically decorated houses and villas. It is therefore very fortunate that we are now able to add to their number one which is in time far less remote from the original conception of Boethos, and is also from its material likely to preserve more faithfully the peculiar characteristics of his style.

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

## SEPULCHRAL RELIEF FROM ATTICA, AT WINTON CASTLE, HADDINGTONSHIRE.

THE Attic sepulchral relief reproduced on Plate B, is the principal object in an interesting collection of antiques formed by the late Baroness Ruthven of Winton Castle, Haddingtonshire, and assigned by her to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The bulk of the collection, consisting of vases, mostly of a small size and of the black figured kind, but including several good Attic lekuthoi, is now deposited in the Museum, but the most notable objects remain still at Winton Castle. These comprise a fine *hydria* 13½ inches high, with a red-figured design (Paris, Helen and other figures with Erotes, etc.) very delicately drawn in the best style, and two sepulchral reliefs, of which one is small and of poor workmanship, and the other, now for the first time published, an interesting and charming work.

It is a *stele* of Pentelic marble rounded at the top, 61½ inches in height 17½ wide at base, and about an inch less above under the architrave. On the face, upon an unmoulded plinth between pilasters which bear upon simple capitals a shallow architrave and cornice, stands in profile to the left the figure of a girl 41½ inches high, whose name, ΑΡΙΕΤΟΜΑΧΗ, appears inscribed on the architrave. Above the cornice is an anthemion ornament in relief of the usual design. The weight of the figure is on the right foot, the left knee being bent, and the right hand holds a small draped figure in a sitting posture—apparently a terracotta idol. The dress is a thin chiton, over which is an ample himation enveloping the figure and covering the left arm and hand. The head is slightly bent to look at the small figure, and the hair, bound with a fillet, falls down over the back of the







neck. The style and workmanship suit the fourth century B.C., with which date agrees the simple elegance of the forms of the anthemion ornament.

The characteristics of the Attic sepulchral relief are well represented here. There is undeniable style in the work, and much refinement and grace of expression in the figure, but at the same time there is in parts a curious neglect in the workmanship. The type of the head and the winning sweetness of the girlish features are fully representative of the best qualities of this interesting phase of Greek sculpture. The rendering of the folds of the himation is without elaboration and the forms are sharply-angled and square, but the work is that of a bold carver who knew his business well. In remarkable contrast is the neglect of the left hand under the robe, which the sculptor has not been at any pains to indicate, so that the effect is that of an arm cut off at the wrist. The hair is roughly worked, the feet somewhat clumsy. The hand holding the figure is, on the contrary, nicely felt. The relief is in the highest part about two inches from the ground; the back of the *stèle* roughly chiselled.

The chief facts about the discovery of the relief, as far as they can now be ascertained, are as follows. Shortly before the breaking out of the Greek Revolution in 1821, Lord and Lady Ruthven spent a year in Athens, and acquired the use of some land containing ancient burial places near Cape Zoster, a few miles from the city. Here the relief of Aristomache was discovered a few feet below the surface of the ground, and with the rest of the proceeds of the excavations it was sent home to Scotland to be placed in the hall at Winton Castle. The wooden case, with the corners filled in with packing of Attic moss, still incloses the relief which was consigned to it in the Peiræus more than sixty years ago, and the red earth in which the marble was embedded still adheres to the surface. The freshness of aspect thus retained by the work is one of its titles to interest, and in connection with this it is to be observed that though the surface is innocent of the washing and scouring which the marbles in so many collections have undergone, no traces of polychromy are to be observed on it. Not less fresh and redolent of Greece was to the last the memory of its accomplished owner. Lady Ruthven, whose years numbered nearly a hundred, remembered well the days of her 'grand tour' and her stay in Athens. She

knew Ali Pasha who interested himself in her search for antiques, and was acquainted with Byron's 'Maid of Athens' though the poet himself she did not meet. An excellent artist in water colours in the bold and masculine style of 'Grecian' Williams, Lady Ruthven executed some valuable drawings of the ancient buildings of Athens in their then condition, and she still loved to talk about the beautiful scenes of Greece whither—with the enthusiasm of youth still unquenched—she would fain again have turned her feet. It gave her the liveliest satisfaction that the Hellenic Society desired to publish the charming relief which had been one of the delights of her life.

G. BALDWIN BROWN.

## ODYSSEUS AND THE SIRENS—DIONYSIAC BOAT-RACES—A CYLIX BY NIKOSTHENES.

## PLATE XLIX.

FOUR years ago, in dealing with the *Myths of the Odyssey*,<sup>1</sup> I raised afresh the time-honoured difficulty of the art-form of the Sirens: Why are the sweet singers of Homer pictured as hybrid monsters—birds with the faces of women? Much that I then said about the Sirens may, I hope, still hold good; but the final solution or part solution of the difficulty which I arrived at, I now believe to be mistaken, and, with more complete material at hand, I hope in the present paper to offer a new, and possibly a more satisfactory, solution. I fell then into the not uncommon error of projecting into the mind of the Greek vase-painter a great deal of allegorizing tendency and somewhat mystical moral purpose which was really conspicuous by its absence; my familiarity with the literary forms and the literary growth of mythology was much wider than my acquaintance with the manner and the influence of artistic tradition. The power of tradition in an art and still more in a handicraft is not easily overestimated. The thought and expression of the handicraftsman is governed by the art forms that lie ready to his hand, just as the thought of a writer is moulded and fashioned by the language he employs. Each must use current phraseology, only elevating or debasing it a little according to his proper faculty. The more one becomes familiar with Greek vase-painting the more weight does one allow to this principle of typography—the more does one recognize the simplicity of the factors which, combined and recombined in almost mechanical fashion, make up the multiplicity of vase-compositions.

In determining the origin of a vase type we naturally look

<sup>1</sup> *Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature*. By J. E. Harrison (Rivingtons).

for a black-figured instance. In the case of Odysseus and the Sirens, I had long been aware of the existence of such an instance. Brunn, in his list of signed vases, gives, under the head of Nikosthenes, '42, aus Vulei, einst bei Durand (n. 418), dann bei Beugnot (n. 57), zuletzt bei W. Hope. (Odysseus und die Sirenen).' A description follows, correct, except in one particular, which I shall note later. Acting on this notice, I at once asked permission to visit the Hope collection at Deepdene, but my letter remained unanswered; nor did more influential pleading meet with better success. I felt sure that a vase by Nikosthenes would at least give the clue to the primitive type of the myth, but Brunn's description left the representation too obscure to serve as foundation for a theory, and, much disappointed, I gave up the question. Three years later, when investigating a quite different matter, I accidentally learnt that the Nikosthenes vase was not in the Hope collection at all, but had gone, owing to the sale of part of the collection, to the Louvre. The vases of the Louvre I had, in the meantime, so far as facilities could be obtained, carefully examined; but the cylix I so earnestly desired to see had escaped me. I tell the story of my search only to point two morals: First, the imperative need of a printed and publicly accessible record of all sales of private collections; second, the need of a printed catalogue of all public collections. The difficulty of collecting the mere materials for the study of vases is sufficient without these extra and most baffling hindrances.

What I have to say about the vase is best said under two divisions.

First, the connection of the design with the type of Odysseus and the Sirens.

Second, the connection of the design with other similar designs which I believe in all probability relate to nautical races in honour of Dionysos.

First as to the connection of the design with the type of Odysseus and the Sirens.

The cylix from which the design is taken is of the ordinary shape seen in the cut. This drawing, from a photograph, and those in Plate XLIX. I owe to the kind superintendence of M. Héron de Villefosse. The scenes on the obverse and reverse are very similar. On the obverse appear two ships, the one

slightly in advance of the other; the prow of each is decorated with a boar's head, the stern shaped into a swan's neck and head. On each of the ships there stands, to the fore, apparently on the outlook, a draped male figure; behind, in the stern, is seated the steersman with his two oars.



The outlook man of the foremost ship is distinguished from the others (probably with no special intent) by his long hair, formally arranged in a long stiff coil, after the familiar, archaic fashion of the Diskophoros. On the reverse the same design is repeated, but in the case of each ship the draped figure on the outlook is omitted, and each ship is further adorned by a large eye painted on the forepart—in the front ship in black, in the hinder one in white. All four ships have their white sails fully set, and to the stern of each of them is horizontally attached a landing ladder: just such a ladder as we see in actual use in representations of scenes from the myth of the Argonauts. To our modern minds these ladders seem attached in a fashion most inconvenient for sailing. The four ships are interesting specimens of ancient war galleys; but, if they present any special features, I must leave the discussion of such to those who have a knowledge of shipbuilding, ancient and modern.

I pass to the remaining decoration. Under each of the handles of the cylix is a dolphin, placed there for the double purpose of filling decoratively the vacant space and of indicating the sea. On a spiral line coming out of the handle a Siren perches, with head turned in the direction of the ship, the body towards the handle. Brunn says, in his catalogue of the Nikosthenes vases, that 'gegen den Henkel je eine Sirene auf einem Felsen, die

nach den Schiffen zurückblickt;’ but manifestly no rock is indicated, nor do I think that the Siren is intended to be looking towards the ship. Sirens used *decoratively* make a better pattern with the head turned around in this way, and accordingly we find this attitude becomes the typical one. Sirens used in precisely the same fashion, and perched on a spiral, may be found not infrequently in vases of the mature black-figured and very early red-figured style. In Gerhard’s *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, xxviii., we have a Siren of precisely this pattern perched on a spiral—not, as in our cylix, as an ornament on a handle, but full in the centre of the design, and yet with no connection with the subject. Again, on a vase in the Hermitage (*Myths of the Odyssey*, pl. 44), we have another Siren perched on a spiral, at the foot of a palm tree. I formerly thought that this Siren—at whom the Apollo and Hermes of the rest of the design seem to look fixedly—formed an integral part of the design. I now believe her to be purely decorative.

It may rightly be asked on what grounds I have headed this paper, ‘Odysseus and the Sirens.’ Obviously the characteristic figure in this myth, Odysseus bound to the mast, is wanting. No less certain to my mind is it that the Sirens are mere decorative adjuncts. The picture, then, resolves itself into four galleys, possibly engaged in a race, and has no mythological meaning whatever. Such is my opinion; but, for all that, the design has, I believe, a very high mythological importance. We catch in it the *type* of Odysseus and the Sirens just at the very moment of formation. Let us turn for a moment to a red figured rendering of the same scene, the only one that, so far as I am aware, exists: I mean the well-known amphora of the British Museum (*Myths of the Odyssey*, pl. 37). Here the dead type is vitalized, translated from a mere *genre* scene into a design with a mythological meaning.

The Sirens, two before (*i.e.*, one to each handle), are three according to current, though not Homeric, tradition. By the very slightest addition of line the spiral ornament has become an actual rock. The steersman is there and the oarsmen (whom Nikosthenes leaves out), but, instead of the man on the outlook, we have Odysseus bound to the mast; instead of the full sails, they are partially reefed, for at the passing of the Sirens there fell a dead, noon-day calm. In the cylix of Nikosthenes the only

sign of intended connection between the ship and the Sirens is the fact that the men on the outlook seem to gaze her way, and that the Sirens are perched only on that side of the handle towards which the ships are steering. But, on the other hand, on the reverse the outlook men are not depicted, and I fear the position of the Sirens is determined merely by considerations of space.

Why I think the vase to be of great importance is that it seems to me that in this design we have a clear instance of what has taken place somewhat less obviously and strikingly in countless other cases. Forms accidentally and merely decoratively juxtaposed suggest the art-form for the expression of a myth. The *art-form* (which must always be carefully distinguished from the literary form and the origin of the myth) of the Myth of Odysseus and the Sirens, I believe to have been suggested by the merely accidental juxtaposition of two racing galleys and the Assyrian bird-women already long current in decorative art.

The cylix before us is signed. ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΕ is inscribed just above the white sail on the obverse to the right hand. A signed vase has its own importance with reference to the style of the potter. But as the manner of Nikosthenes is familiar to all I need not stop to consider it. Dr. Klein in his *Griechische Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*, has collected seventy instances of his signature. Our cylix stands as No. 60 in his list, and the further authorities on his style are cited *op. cit.* p. 24. The principal characteristic of the work of Nikosthenes is, however, somewhat important to the matter in hand. He stood on the boundary-line between the black and red figured masters, but in spirit he belonged to the past. He was above all things a mechanical decorator, caring little for mythological meaning, much for a certain mannerism of effect. Casting our eye over the list of his works we find a few mythological subjects, but these treated in a very abstracted, schematic, non-original fashion: such designs have the emptiness and lifelessness of an often repeated scheme which tends to lose its meaning and lapse into a mere pattern. What Nikosthenes best loves are such figures as dancing Satyrs and Mænads, sphinxes, panthers, Sirens, Hippalektryons. Black-figured types are getting exhausted, and Nikosthenes is not the man to revitalize them; he decorated a vase or two in accordance with the new red-figured *technique*,

but he never felt the impulse of the new Attic inspiration. Perhaps nowhere is the contrast between the new and old manner better seen than by the juxtaposition of the mechanical cylix before us and the amphora with the red-figured Odysseus and the Sirens already cited.

I turn to the second point: the connection of the design in the cylix of Nikosthenes with other similar designs, which, I believe, in all probability relate to nautical races in honour of Dionysos.

About the end of the black-figured period it is not uncommon to find a certain class of vases decorated with a design consisting of four or five ships following each other in regular succession. I have collected the following instances, to which no doubt many more might be added:—

- a. Lebes. Munich, *Cat.* 781. G., *A. V.*, ccliv.
- b. Kelebe. G., *A. V.* cclxxv., vi.
- c. Deinos. Millingen, *Vas. Coghill*, 52..
- d. Deinos. Politi, *Descrizione d'una Deinos*.
- e. Kelebe. Hermitage, *Cat.* 10.
- f. Lebes. Hermitage, *Cat.* 86.
- g. Deinos. *Bull.* 1873, p. 125.

These seven vases, it will be noted, are all of such shapes that they allow of decoration on the lip of the vase. When the vase was full of liquid, the ships painted on the vertical part of the lip would appear to be actually floating, and it is possible the artist may have been influenced by what seems a somewhat trivial conceit. Be this as it may the ships, four or five in number, are in all seven cases used as decoration for the lip.

It is of great importance to note what the remaining decoration of each vase is.

The Munich lebes (a) has the horizontal rim of its lip decorated with a frieze obviously agonistic, chariot-race, combat of armed warriors, judges seated on *okladiai*.

The Kelce, once in the Feoli collection (b), has on the obverse, in *red* figures, a palaestric scene, bearded men in conversation with boys; this extends to the reverse. The horizontal rim has in *black* figures a complicated Dionysiac scene—Dionysos, seated on the capital of a short pillar, holds a rhyton in the right hand, a vine-branch in the left. To him advances Hermes with herald's staff. Hermes is followed by a bearded Satyr,



who leads a boy on horseback into the presence of Dionysos. After the boy—presumably a successful competitor in the horse-race—comes a representation of a Bacchic festival, Satyrs and Maenads with krotala, cithars, rhytons—the scene characterised by vine-branches, panthers, a snake, and wine vessels of various shapes, one a kelebe of the very shape of the vase it helps to decorate. We can, I think, scarcely escape the inference that Dionysos is here a prize-giver at games in his own honour, and that the galleys which are decorated in the inner vertical side of the rim are racing galleys contending at the same festival.

The *deinos* of the Coghill collection (*c*) is of the same type as the two preceding; on the horizontal surface of the lip is a continuous frieze, composed of five pairs of combatants, four boys on horseback, four figures seated on *okladiæ*, and sundry judges and *ephebi*; as usual the ships occupy the vertical surface of the lip.

The *Politi deinos* (*d*) repeats the same pattern—i.e. *horizontal* frieze of warriors arming, stepping into chariots, pairs of combatants; *vertical* frieze of five galleys.

The Hermitage *kelebe* (*e*), obverse Dionysos, viz. crowned and holding in the left hand a rhyton. Opposite him a female figure, possibly Ariadne; between them a vine-branch. Behind each a succession of Satyrs and Maenads. Under each handle Satyr and Maenad. Reverse, same scene, with slight alterations. *Vertical* side of lip, four galleys.

The Hermitage *lebes* (*f*) has no decoration except the five galleys on the vertical side of the lip.

The remaining *deinos* (*g*) has a garland of ivy around the neck, and on the horizontal side of the rim combats of hoplites and of chariots with charioteers.

The regular scheme of decoration for this class of vases stands as follows:—

Horizontal side of lip, agonistic types.

Vertical side of lip, galleys.

Where the shape (*kelebe*) admits of further decoration the design is either (1) agonistic or (2) Dionysiac.

In the case of one vase (*h*) the agonistic type is plainly referred to Dionysos, in the case of another (*e*) the galleys appear in conjunction with designs which are exclusively Dionysiac.

I am well aware that this evidence alone is too slender to

support a theory of galley races in honour of Dionysos. Literary testimony can, however, be added.

In a former number of the *Hellenic Journal* (vol. ii. p. 90 and p. 315) Prof. Gardner has brought together the evidence as to boat-races in general among the Greeks, and incidentally of races that seem to have been run in honour of Dionysos. In the Corcyra types of coins, which Prof. Gardner thinks refer to galley races, the head of Dionysos occurs twice on the obverse (vol. ii. p. 95), and one racing galley has, we note, the significant name of *Kῶμος*. Most important for our purpose is the passage of Pausanias (cited by Prof. Gardner, ii. 315, and in connection with vase-paintings by Gerhard, G., *A. V.*, ecliv. p. 24, n. 13) in which he speaks of the festival in honour of Dionysos Malanaigis (Paus. ii. 35, 1) in which there were contests in music, in swimming and with boats (*καὶ πλοίων τιθέασιν ἄθλα*). In Dumont's *L'Ephèbie Attique*, Inscr. viii. 54, we have noted a part of the service rendered by the Attic Ephebi to Dionysos *ἐποίησαντο δὲ καὶ ἄμιλλαν τοῖς πλοίοις*. We can readily conceive that the Greeks, if they had boat-races at all, would have races of war-galleys. All the agonistic training of the Greeks was tinged with a certain fine, patriotic, utilitarianism; the friendly contest of racing war-galleys might be a fitting preparation to the more serious *ἄμιλλα* with an enemy's fleet. The God Dionysos does not himself disdain to go to sea. On a beautiful cylix in the Munich collection (No. 339) we have Dionysos of colossal size reclining in a galley shaped exactly like our Nikosthenes galleys; from the mast rise up vine-branches laden with huge bunches of grapes, and all around the ship dolphins are playing. On the outside of the cylix, on either side of the handles, are combats of hoplites; on the obverse and reverse are two eyes. According to Pausanias (ix. 20, 4) Dionysos contended with and overcame a Triton who disturbed his worshippers. Very frequently on vases of about the date of Exekias we have designs in which Dionysos or his symbols appear in connection with the sea; e.g. G., *A. V.*, viii. we have a cylix in which a white-haired man holding a trident rides a hippocamp, on either side a huge eye surrounded by vine-branches and bunches of grapes. Similarly an amphora, G., *A. V.*, viii., on the obverse Dionysos with cantharos in his right hand seated on an okladias, in front of him a bearded

man (a competitor in a musical contest?) playing on a lyre, between them a vine; reverse, a triton holding an ivy wreath, about him dolphins.

I would therefore suggest:—

1st. That it is possible, and even probable, that where the type of four or five war-galleys, in connection with other agonistic schemes appears, we have in the galleys a representation of a galley race.

2nd. That wherever Dionysiac attributes appear in conjunction with these galleys, the race was presumably run in honour of Dionysos.

3rd. That, considering the immense popularity of Dionysiac subjects about the time of the black-figured vases, just before the time of the red-figured Attic cylix masters, even where there are no Dionysiac symbols, it is probable the intention is Dionysiac.

4th. That the large eyes which so frequently appear about this date are Dionysiac, in the simple sense that they stand symbolically for galleys which ran races in honour of Dionysos.

5th. That with the general decline of Dionysiac subjects, and probably, to some extent, because of the unmanageable shape of the ships, their representations of galley-races went out of fashion in the period of the red-figured Attic cylix masters.

6th. That possibly the vases we have enumerated above, being all of the nature of mixing vessels, i.e., *deinos*, *lebes*, or *kelebe*, were of the sort used as prizes in these Dionysiac festivals, or in some other way specially connected with the ceremonies.

7th. That the Nikosthenes vase represents a Dionysiac galley-race, but in just such a way as we should expect from a potter whose manner was mechanical. There is a technical advance in the representation of the race, inasmuch as the galleys are almost side by side, but the representation is taken from the rim of a mixing vessel, which it suits fairly well, and put on to the obverse and reverse of a cylix, which it suits very badly. The Sirens present are possibly borrowed from some definitely Dionysiac representation (on the connection of Dionysos and the Sirens see *Myths of the Odyssey*, p. 161); but such a meaning was scarcely present to the mind of the

mechanical Nikosthenes, who used the Siren merely as a piece of decoration.

Finally, resuming our first point: the representation of a boat-race in honour of Dionysos, the meaning of which was only half present to the vase-painter, together with the figure of the Oriental bird-woman decoratively used, supplied the type which was ultimately to represent artistically the myth of Odysseus and the Sirens.

JANE E. HARRISON.

Since writing the above, I have examined the vase collections of Northern and Central Italy and the collections of the Louvre, with a view to finding further instances of the connection between Dionysos and nautical races—with the following results. I letter the additions, so as to follow consecutively the previous list.

*h.* Lebes. Louvre, Campana coll.: white label 224, blue-edged label 1064—*horizontal* lip, ivy pattern; *vertical* rim, five ships with steersmen only.

*i.* Lebes. Louvre, of very large size—*horizontal* lip, a frieze of chariot races, armed combats, seated judges, Herakles and Nemean lion, Theseus and Minotaur; *vertical* rim, six ships in full sail, steersmen and oarsmen, white sails.

*j.* Patera. Louvre, black ware with boss in centre; round the boss frieze of ships racing. The fore parts only shown.

*k.* Cylix. Corneto (Bruschi coll.) black-figured—below each handle a ship, between each handle two Dionysiac eyes, and between each of these warriors. Vine branch decorations

*l.* Amphora. Corneto (Bruschi coll.) fine black-figured—*obverse* Dionysos seated in large ship; in left hand cantharos, in background vine and grapes, in outlook place Satyr. In rear of ship Maenad with lyre and Satyr with cup; below handles dolphins; *reverse* similar but differing in details.

*m.* Neck of amphora—(noted Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, Exekias 5), now in collection of Augusto Castellani, Rome, vertical rim for ships in waves, horizontal rim, inscription

Ε+ΣΕΚΙΑΣΜΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΧΠΑΙΝΕΤΟΜΜΧΔΟΚΧΝ+ΑΡΟΓΟΙ

None of these six last vases are, so far as I am aware, published—*h.* simply repeats the normal scheme we have noted with no

definite Dionysiac evidence—*i.* adds agonistic though not certainly Dionysiac evidence—*j.* belongs to the late embossed ware, and I only cite it because together with it were a number of other similar cups with chariot races, &c. so that it seems to make for the fact that the ships are an Agonistic type. *k.* is distinctly Dionysiac, as is shown by the eyes and vine branches—the warriors between the eyes probably represent an armed combat—*l.* belongs to the same type as the beautiful Munich cylix cited above (Munich No. 339). There is nothing in either case to indicate the subject of racing, but the vases are of course of great value as showing the connection of Dionysos and seafaring matters—*m.* I believe to be the neck of a *deinos*—it is valuable, as it enables us to take the *type* as belonging to the time of Exekias.

I would add to these two instances nearer hand which escaped my notice before.

*n.* A small black-figured cylix, British Museum, exterior decorated by four ships alternately war galleys and merchant ships. This is probably a mere decorative caprice of the vase-painters, as the two sorts of ships would scarcely be entered for the same race.

*o.* Cup in the form of the prow of a war galley, British Museum. "Round the lip of the cup are Sirens' heads, below which is Seilenos reclining in an arbour and playing on the flute. At the back of the prow is a Victory." Mr. Newton conjectures (Guide-book p. 17) that this cup may belong to the class called *trieres*.

## ANCIENT MARBLES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

## SUPPLEMENT II.

(Continued from Vol. V. p. 143–161.)

## PLATES LVI.—LVII.

## HAMILTON PALACE.

(*Ancient Marbles*, p. 300, 301.)

It is well-known that the antiquities of this Palace were sold by auction in 1882. In the sale catalogue, however, published by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, no mention is made of nos. 1, 7, 8, 9 of my catalogue. All these being *marble statues*, I have little doubt that they have remained at the Palace, which is said to be still to-day richly furnished also with busts and other smaller antiquities. A few notes extracted from the sale catalogue will serve to supplement the notices given in my book. The kindness of my friend Mr. Scharf enables me to add the names of the buyers, and the prices as given in the priced catalogue. The woodcuts of the illustrated catalogue, which I have not seen, are said to be very poorly done; tracings of them lie before me.

No. 190 (no. 6 of my catalogue). *Bust of Vespasian*, of black basalt, with (modern?) drapery of oriental alabaster. Woodcut. This bust, which was sold at the Strawberry Hill sale for £220 10s., fetched £336; T. Agnew & Son.

No. 191 (no. 4). *Bust of Augustus*, of antique Egyptian porphyry, with gilt ornaments. The woodcut shows the emperor crowned with a wreath, and clad in a breastplate (decorated with two pegasi flanking a central ornament), and an aegis below it, a mantle covering shoulders and part of the breast. I dare not say from the woodcut whether the head is antique; the bust is

certainly modern. It was sold to E. Joseph for the enormous sum of £1,732 10s.

No. 192 (no. 5). *Bust of Tiberius*, of the same materials. Judging from the woodcut, Waagen seems justified in recognising Vespasian. The head is crowned like that of Augustus, to which it forms in every respect the counterpiece, and with which it shares the doubts about authenticity. Bought by S. Wörtheimer for £525.

No. 469. *Bronze bust of Zeus Serapis*, on black marble stand, 9 inches (0·23 m.) high. The head only is antique, the rest restored by the Hon. Mrs. Damer, 1787. From the Barberini collection it passed, through the hands of Sir William Hamilton, into the possession of the Duchess of Portland, at whose sale it was bought by Horace Walpole (comp. *Ancient Marbles*, p. 69, and note 172). At the Hamilton sale it was sold to A. Castellani, for £106 1s. (Portland sale £173 5s., Strawberry Hill sale £78 15s.); I do not find it, however, in Froehner's catalogue of the Castellani sale (1883).

No. 470. Small antique *bronze bust of Alexander the Great*, on marble mount,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches (0·11 m.) high. From Strawberry Hill (? not in the sale catalogue). Bought by W. Boore, £21.

No. 472. *Equestrian male figure*, on pedestal,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches (0·11 m.) high. Bought by A. Castellani, £71 8s. In the Paris sale catalogue of the Castellani collection there is the following description, probably of the same figure: 'No. 440. *Jeune cavalier galopant vers la gauche. Buste et bras nus; la main droite levée tenait un javelot, et la tête se retourne vers l'ennemi qu'il s'agit de frapper. Applique. Haut., 10 cent. Larg., 16 cent.*'

No. 885 (no. 2). *Colossal marble bust of Venus*. From the Braschi Palace. A band encircles the hair. 'The tip of the nose is modern, and so is the lower lip. The eyeballs are not marked. The breasts are set into a bedding of modern marble. Very like the Cnidian Venus. Compare also the Holkham head, no. 37.' [G. SCHARF.] Bought by J. and W. Vokins, £120 15s.

No. 886 (no. 3). *Bust of the 'dying Alexander'*, erroneously styled 'bust of Niobe' in the catalogue. Woodcut. It is, according to Mr. Scharf, a modern copy of the Florentine bust. Bought by G. Sinclair, £409 10s.

No. 889. Antique marble *group of two Cupids*. No details known. Bought by Mrs. Williams.

No. 1005. *Bust of Homer*, in basalt, on bronze mount. 'Bearded and crowned with laurels. OMHPOΣ in front below.' [G. SCHARF.] Antique? Bought by T. Agnew & Son, £99 15s.

No. 1423. A pair of *Roman mosaics*, with birds, a mouse, and serpent.

No. 1426. Small antique *Roman bust of a boy*. Bought by J. and W. Vokins, £157 10s.

No. 1427. Antique *double terminal bust* (of Dionysos?), with ivy wreath in the hair. Bought by Duncan, £66 3s.

No. 1447. *Bust of Niobe*. Bought by J. R. Lorent, £84.

No. 1448. *Bust of a Roman Empress*. Bought by H. Samuel, £13 13s.

#### HILLINGDON COURT (Middlesex).

(*Ancient Marbles*, p. 301.)

In this seat of Sir C. MILLS, M.P., near Uxbridge, the *Attic bull*, once the property of Cockerell, is still in his old place under a yew-tree, the branches of which have not been able to protect the poor creature from the injuries of the damp English climate. The annexed Plate C. is copied from a photograph kindly taken by Mr. S. Gardner, with Sir C. Mills's permission. From a letter of Professor P. Gardner I copy the following remarks. 'The bull is rather carelessly finished and the details only superficially rendered. The head is the best part and the legs the worst. I have no doubt that he was set up on a base so as to be looked at rather from below; as the back is quite rough, it is clear that that was not intended to be looked at. He reminds me of the animals of the Dipylon cemetery [Salinas, *Monumenti sepolcrali scoperti in Atene*, 1863. Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, pl. iv], and I should suppose that he must be of the same period, in spite of his somewhat archaic air. The marble is very hard and white; as the bull is covered with moss, it is not easy to examine its texture, but tradition says it is Pentelic. Mr. Constantine has been good enough to take for me the following measurements: length from top of head to root of tail 5 feet 8 inches (1·70 m.); height to top of head 3 feet 3 inches (0·98 m.); length of head 18 inches (0·45 m.). He would thus represent a very small animal, if intended to be of life-size.'







## CASTLE HOWARD (Yorkshire).

*(Ancient Marbles, p. 325—332.)*

Of all the larger collections of ancient marbles in England, that of the Earls of Carlisle at Castle Howard was the only one which, when I collected the materials of my book, I had not had an opportunity of examining myself. With the kind permission of Mr. G. HOWARD, M.P., who is now residing in that vast palace, I have been able to fill up that gap, and to give a somewhat exacter account of the greater part of the marbles, which are scattered over the hall (nos. 1, 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, 16), the long corridors, and some saloons of the house. Nevertheless, my catalogue is far from being complete, the number of antique sculptures being very large, and my time being limited; I feel sure, however, that no piece of any importance has been overlooked. I shall mention all those marbles which I have inspected myself.—Besides the fourth Earl of Carlisle (*d.* 1758), who began collecting in Italy, his successor the fifth Earl (*d.* 1825), followed the same line and added several specimens to the collection.

1. *Female statue.* The antique head, which has been added, is pretty; it is crowned not with laurel but with ears of corn. H. 1·38.

2. *Female statue* (only accessible with the aid of ladders). The antique portrait head is certainly the original head. It was broken, but the lines of the fracture prove that the two parts belong together; and so does the Parian marble which is of exactly the same quality in the head and the body. Several smaller restorations and patches are of no importance. The style is calculated for mere decoration. H. 1·78.

3. *Fortuna.* The head and the body are of different marble. The antique head, which shows a pretty countenance and is very well executed, including those portions of the hair which have not been retouched, is of Greek marble. The expression of the features is rather ideal, though not expressly characteristic for Venus, as Waagen supposed. Unfortunately, the head is much broken and patched, the nose, the lips, the chin, the stephanè being modern. The neck is inserted. The body, the execution of which is rather coarse but sufficient for the purpose of decorative effect, is made of Italian marble, and in excellent

preservation; only half the left fore-arm with the cup, and the fingers of the right hand are new. The cornucopia contains an apple, ears of corn, a bunch of grapes, a pomegranate, a pineapple, and flowers. The back of the statue is but little worked, the chair only sketched. H. 1.59, with the pedestal, 1.73.

4. *Athenè*. She rests not on the left but on the right leg. The folds of the cloak before the stomach and the thighs are executed in an exceedingly simple, flat way; similar is the treatment of the chiton. Cavaceppi's engraving (*Raccolta*, i. pl. 18), repeated by Clarac (iii. 471, 900), is so exactly like the statue, even in a number of small and insignificant details, that I have little doubt that it refers to this copy; Brotherton's drawing taken from the original at Castle Howard itself (Clarac, iii. 462 B, 888 C), is less exact. Not only the right arm but also the shoulder, from the beginning of the cloak, is new.

5. *Hygieia*. Of remarkably perfect preservation; even both the hands, though broken, are undoubtedly antique and her own, and so are the cup and the serpent (except the head and the neck from the goddess's hand). The right hand seems to have been broken in ancient times; a hole within the palm and another opposite to it, in the body of the statue, may have served to fasten it. Another hole opposite the serpent's head will have served a similar purpose. The execution of the drapery is flat in general, but sharper in those folds which are more prominent. The fingers are not rounded but rather square. The statue itself is of Parian, the portrait head (nose new) of Italian marble. H. 1.64.

6. *Boy (Eros)*. No traces of wings. The curly head is certainly antique; it was broken, but there is every probability that it is really the original head. Nose new. The pose of the boy is scarcely strained enough for the action presumed by the restorer; it would rather suit a boy collecting fruits from a tree (see Richmond, no. 3). The work is very pleasant and of good execution. Greek marble. H. 0.68, up to the left hand, 0.74.

7. *Eros*. The torso is executed with tolerable softness but without great delicacy of feeling; moreover it is much rubbed down, and patched in several places. The torso as well as the head are of Greek marble, but the quality is different. The pretty boy's head, with clusters of hair, has also suffered from smoothing. H. 1.25.

8. *Dionysos* (placed like no. 2). Notwithstanding the many pieces of which the statue has been recomposed, its preservation on the whole is very good; new: the panther's head, a few unimportant patches, the whole mask of the countenance all around to the hair, the head itself being antique and originally its own. In the hair which falls down over the neck there are remains of red colour. There is little doubt but that the nebris, which is worked in exceedingly flat relief, without sharply-defined edges, was also painted. It exhibits a rough surface, and so do the hair, the kantharos, the bunch of grapes, the sandals, the panther, and the tree; all the naked parts of the body being smooth and polished. The marble is Greek, of large grain, much like the Thasian. H. 1.58. The pedestal, also with rough surface, has rounded corners, and shows a very simple flat moulding, with a profile similar to that given in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1876, pl. 2. no. xii.

9. *Boy riding on a goat*. The garland is composed of flowers, not ivy; the stick in his right hand is a small pedum. The goat is heavy, its flocky fleece well characterised though superficially executed; the boy is better. Half of his left foot is antique, the end of the goat's beard new.

10. *Sleeping Seilenos*. Undoubtedly modern.

11. *River god* (over the main entrance, accessible by a narrow staircase). The main portion of the body, including part of the pedestal, made of a greyish stone (marble?), seems to be antique. The workmanship is not refined but does not want feeling for form. New: head, both the arms and shoulders, great part of the legs from below the knees. H. 0.71. Actual length of plinth 1.20.

12. *Serapis*. The middle head of the Kerberos (muzzle new) looks like a lion's, the two side heads like dogs' heads. Waagen's description (p. 329) refers not to this statue but to

12a. *Small bust of Serapis*, placed near no. 4; of very transparent Greek marble; new: the modius of rosso antico, the bust of coloured marble.

13. *Youthful Roman in the toga*. Much rubbed down. Head inserted; new: nose, mouth, chin, portions of drapery, scrinium and inferior part of the legs, from the middle of the calves downwards.

14. *Augustus*. The head, without any restoration, is very

much repolished; it has never been separated from the body. Drapery crowded at the left shoulder, poor in other places. On the whole the antiquity of the statue is very open to suspicion. The many fractures and restorations (right arm, left fore-arm with the globe, greater part of the legs) bear witness of the statue having remained a long time in the open air, or in some other exposed place. H. 1·73.

15. *Statuette of a nude youth.* Certainly modern.

16. '*Marcus Aurelius.*' The completely preserved head, to judge from the treatment of the hair, appears to be modern; and so are the pedestal, the trunk, the right leg from the knee, etc. The body is of soft work. H. 1·63.

17. *Statuette of Athene.* Modern, of about the seventeenth century.



18. *Two Panes.* This is no group but a *relief*, and a very pretty one, the authenticity of which I see no reason to doubt. It belongs to a series of delicately-carved miniature reliefs, the

best known specimen of which may be the Lateran relief of an actor and a muse (Benndorf-Schoene, no. 245, comp. London. Lansdowne House, no. 72), and is executed in a beautiful yellowish Greek marble of fine grain. The relief is tolerably high; the head of the elder Pan was in great part detached from the ground. The field of the relief is not even, but on different levels. The sculpture is full of fresh life, by no means dry. An engraving by H. Moses, privately made and never published, some copies of which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Howard, is here repeated, with some corrections of little consequence. It dispenses me from giving a detailed description. Far the greater portion is antique and intact, including the frame which shows a simple moulding. The line of restoration crosses the right leg, the tail, the skin, the head (the upper part of which is modern), the left wrist (hand and thyrsos new) of the elder, and the horns of the younger Pan, at the left cheek of whom there is a patch. H. 0.25. L. 0.28.

19, 20. *Two groups of a lion tearing a bull.* The two groups were evidently to serve as counter-parts, being composed in opposite directions, and of nearly the same size (H. 0.67, and 0.69; L. 1.21, and 1.15). Preservation excellent; restorations of little consequence. The bulls are fallen on all four legs, the necks bent back; the lions have jumped from behind, and are biting the bulls' necks. Italian marble.

20a. *Small goat, capering.* Decorative work. The horns, being let in, and made of real horn, are no doubt a modern addition. H., including the pedestal, 0.43. L. 0.44.

#### BUSTS.

21. *Bust of Minerva.* Modern. Head and helmet of black marble, bust of oriental alabaster.

22. *Mask of bearded Bacchus.* Much patched, and very coarse, if at all antique. H. 1.05. Length of face 0.46.

23. *Bust of Bacchus.* See Catalogue.

24. *Head with Phrygian cap.* Turn of the head and expression somewhat sentimental, reminding us slightly of the portraits of Alexander the Great. Workmanship not bad, but rather poor. New, also bust and top of cap. Parian marble. Length of face 0.22.

25. *Head of Io*. One would think of a Juno, of insignificant expression, but for the two little horns which are certainly antique.

26. *Hieratic head of Athenè*. The style is similar to that of the famous Artemis at Naples (Müller-Wieseler, i. 10, 38); the helmet seems best to suit Athenè. The wreath of flowers forms the ornament of a kind of stephanè, below which the forehead is covered by a mass of stiff hair, an arrangement very much like that of the 'Zeus Talleyrand' (*Arch. Zeit.* 1843, pl. 1. 1874, pl. 9). The ears are covered by a flat, curved garland, as it were, of hair, similar to the arrangement on certain Athenian tetradrachms (Müller-Wieseler, i. 16, 70). Longer tresses fall down behind the neck. The low, round helmet was decorated with an animal at the top, and a crest, remains of both of which are preserved. Traces of red colour are visible also in the eyes.

27. *Youthful head*. This unusually beautiful head, which shows no marks of special Heraklean character, is far the finest specimen of the whole collection. It belongs to the Lysippic type and may be best compared with such heads as that of the Meleagros at Berlin or in the Vatican, to which corresponds also the turn of the head. All the peculiarities of fine Lysippic heads may be traced, though a little tempered, executed not with that feeling of individuality which we should find in a Greek original, but still with a fine rendering of the whole character. The head is of a beautiful Greek marble of large grain, perhaps Parian, the bust of Thasian marble. Length of face 0·18.

28. *Head of Seilenos*. The pointed ears confute Waagen's opinion that it might be the portrait of a poet. Very noble type, without any vulgar feature. Beard pretty long. New: top of nose. Thasian marble.

29. Dallaway's '*Dioskuros*' seems to mean no. 27; at least I have found no head of Dioskuros in the collection.

My time did not allow me to go carefully through the very large number of *Roman portrait busts*, which occupy the walls of the long corridors; consequently I have nothing to add to nos. 30—44. A cursory inspection, however, seemed to prove that there are no busts among them of peculiar interest or artistic value.



RELIEFS.

45. *Nikè*. See Catalogue.

46. *Bacchante and youth*. Right fore-arm and hand of the Maenad, except the index and the middle finger, are new.

47. *Sepulchral relief*. The attendant stands to the left of the youth, the tree is to his right. High relief (0·06). Roman work. H. 0·46. L. 0·43.

48. *Child's sarcophagus*. All the figures of the whole sarcophagus are moving right, our description follows the opposite direction. *Front side*: A tree at the right extremity of it indicates that the whole procession begins with the girl preceding Dionysos; before her feet is a panther. Dionysos turns his head towards the attendant boy who supports him. *Left end*: The basket (head of snake quite clear) is near the god's attendant; the Satyr boy moves towards it; behind (not before) him is the girl with tympanon in the upraised left hand; her right arm is grasped by Pan, who is followed by the Centaur; the closing girl, who looks much like a Maenad, is half concealed by the Centaur. *Right end*: After the *back* with the boys treading grapes, comes the boy with flute, partly concealed by the female Centaur; the boy with lyre follows; after him a basket on the ground, with a serpent; then the Satyr boy with pedom and nebris; finally the tree, which separates this group from that on the front. H. 0·29. L. 0·91.

49. *Ploughman*. The oxen move left. The kind of relief is a little like that of no. 18, but much coarser. The old piece is h. 0·18, l. 0·43.

50. *Cippus of P. Aelius Taurus*. See Addenda, p. xxiv.

51. *Double cinerarium*. The inscription runs thus:—

Ammon's head		M · VIGELLIVS LOGVS · ET VIGELLIA' IVCVNDA FECERVNT · SIBI · ET		Ram's skull.		VIGELLIAE ANTHVSÆ VLXIT · ANN · XXXXV		Ammon's head.
garland			garland	garland			garland	
		garland				garland		

Within the garlands, birds and locusts; beneath the ram's skull, bird and snake.

51a. *Triple cinerarium*. The fields to the left and to the right are empty, in the middle field the inscription:—

VIGELLIAE

M. L.

ERATÓNIS

Ornaments of no importance.

52. *Round cinerarium*. See Addenda, p. xxiv.

53. *Round pedestal*. H. 1.02. Diameter 0.75.

#### BRONZES.

59. *Venus*, with diadem. Same type as Stanmore, no. 1. *Arch. Zeitung*, 1870, pl. 38.

60. *Fury*. Undoubtedly modern.

#### MOSAICS.

64. *Young Pan*, sitting. The wine-skin lies on the ground, Pan holds its mouth in his right hand. The large cup is yellow. Two masks on the ground, the one of a bearded man with ruffled hair, the other of a bald-headed Seilenos; a third grey-bearded mask lies on the krater. Between this and Pan, in the middle of the picture, an altar with fruits lying on it. L. 0.55. H. 0.55.

65. *Aphrodite*. L. 0.535. H. 0.535.

#### PAINTED VASE.

66. *Krater of Python*. See Addenda p. xxiv., and Engelmann *Annali dell' Inst.* 1872, p. 7. In the *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d'Italia*, iv. p. 124 &c., is reproduced a catalogue, made in 1796, of the new museum of the manufactory of porcelain at Naples; among the vases dug up by order of the royal government at S. Agata de' Goti and deposited in that museum are, besides others, the famous vase of Kadmos slaying the dragon, by Assteas (No. 53), and our vase (p. 133 No. 119), with the additional remark '*è stato ripulito, e ritoccato.*' As far as I could observe, this remark may refer to the upper parts of the two rain-pouring Nymphs; the legs, the head, and perhaps some further details of Antenor; some parts of the head of Aes. Generally the colours are less glaring than they

appear in the engraving. The sceptre of Zeus, with its curious prominences, is painted white at both extremities, as far as they stand out from the body. The back is of very superficial execution. H. 0·57. Diam. 0·53.—Sant' Agata de' Goti, though situated in Campania, is known for the later style of its vases very similar to those of Lucanian origin. Of Python this is the only known specimen; of the five vases of Assteas three were found at Paestum, the above-named at S. Agata (not at Bari in Apulia), the fifth which was originally in the possession of the Bishop of Nola, may also have come from the neighbouring place of S. Agata. Comp. Klein, *Griech. Vasen mit Meister-signaturen*, p. 84.

## INCE BLUNDELL HALL.

(*Ancient Marbles*, p. 333—415.)

In the *Athenaeum* of 1883, Nos. 2917—2919, pp. 375, 408, 439, an account is given of the ancient marbles of that large collection, the author of which offers suggestive remarks and criticisms on a great number of the most conspicuous specimens, of most of which he quotes the numbers of my catalogue.<sup>1</sup> It would be impossible to give here an extract of all what is new in those observations; the only specimen of some interest overlooked by me seems to be 'a Greek male left thigh, possessing exquisitely carved work about the knee, which has, with the finest style, the pulpiness and energy of life' (p. 376; in the Pantheon).

<sup>1</sup> The same critic, in a very kind review of my book, in the *Athenaeum*, 1883, No. 2895, p. 512, objects to my having 'overlooked Fouquet' in my Introduction. I am not aware of any ancient sculpture of Fouquet's collection having come into English hands. I had therefore no reason to speak about that collection in an account which deals with 'the influx of ancient sculptures

into Great Britain' only, not with 'the development of the taste for antique sculptures on this side of the Alps.' The further reproach that 'due honour is not given to Haydon,' will easily be refuted by a reference to pp. 140, 145, 148, to which I may add what I have stated in an article quoted p. 138, note 354.

LONDON.

H. ATKINSON, Esq.

*(Ancient Marbles, p. 431.)*

Owing to the goodness of Richard Fisher, Esq., I have had access to the Athenian marbles mentioned in my Catalogue. According to a notice by Mr. Fisher they were collected by WILLIAM ATKINSON, an architect of reputation and an intimate friend of the Athenian Lord Elgin, part of whose marbles were first deposited in the grounds of Mr. Atkinson's house at St. John's Wood. It may have been on this occasion that Lord Elgin presented his friend with some of his acquisitions. On that gentleman's death, his son, HENRY ATKINSON, took the marbles in question to 61, Upper Gloucester Place, Dorset Square, where they were sold by auction in March last, Mr. Atkinson having died intestate. Of the ten pieces which the collection is said to contain, I have been shown the following seven by the housekeeper, who knew of no more specimens. Although there are no fragments from the Parthenon among these relics, still their Athenian origin secures them a certain interest.

1. *Attic sepulchral stèle*, of simple shape. The top, of semi-circular form, is quite plain. A simple moulding separates it from the main field, on which is represented a girl, standing to the right, the hair encircled by a ribbon, draped in chiton and cloak, and holding on the left hand a little bird which she caresses with her right hand. Pretty low relief; from the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century. The slab is broken below. H. 0'39 (slab 0'25, top 0'14). L. 0'20. *Purchased at the sale by Mr. Woolner, the sculptor.*

2. *Upper part of an Attic sepulchral stèle*, including the top decorated with a fine anthemion in relief and ending in three rounded akroteria, a simple cornice, and the uppermost plain part of the slab itself. H. 0'48. L. 0'35. *Now in Brit. Mus.*

3. *Attic sepulchral lekythos of Hippokrates and Eukoliniè*. Half the neck and foot wanting. Hippokrates, an elderly, bearded man, with portrait-like countenance, is sitting to the

left, turned to the right, back, left arm and legs enveloped in his cloak, raising his left arm as though he were holding a sceptre, and holding hands with an unveiled female (*Eukolinè*) draped in chiton and cloak, who stands opposite him in a quiet pose. Above the heads the inscriptions:—

## ΕΥΚΟΛΙΝΗΕΥΓΟΛΕΜΟ

ΙΓΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

head

## ΓΛΑΥΚΙΞ

ΛΥΚΕΟ

head

The word *Γλαυκίς*, incised less deeply, is evidently an addition, though not much later than the rest. The O instead of OY indicates the first quarter of the fourth century. Relief low, not very careful and rather defaced. H. 0·52. Diam. about 0·30. *Purchased at the sale by Mr. Trist.*

4. *Upper part of a large Attic sepulchral amphora, including part of the high and slender neck, and of the large handle decorated with beautiful flowers and scrollwork in low relief*  
H. 0.28. W. 0.28.

5. *Fragment of an Attic relief*, of a very singular kind. The lower right corner only preserved. Remains of a draped figure in very high relief, with the right arm lying in the lap, sitting on a simple stool with tapering legs and cross beams between them; under the stool in lower relief a lying bull, very pretty. The stool rests on a kind of square pedestal, the right extremity of which only is remaining. On this are represented in very low relief three figures, all turned to the left, and all bent a little forward; to the left slight traces of a fourth figure. The three remaining figures are a naked youth, bearing a box on his left hand, and stretching out his right hand which seems to hold a cup; behind him a bearded man, enveloped in his cloak, and supporting on a staff his body which is much bent forward; finally a bearded man, draped in his cloak, with lowered right arm. I am not aware of any similar kind of sculpture. If the fragment be part of a sepulchral relief, I should be at a loss to mention an analogous specimen. Can it be part of a copy of a seated statue of some divinity, including its pedestal decorated with reliefs? H. 0.32. L. 0.18.

6. *Front of a small Corinthian capital of pilaster.* At the lower edge part of an ovolo, which gives the whole sculpture the

character of a composita-capital. H. 0·29. L. 0·25. *Now in Brit. Mus.*

7. *Base of a column.* Round the whole the σπείρα Ἀττικουρύης, the tori decorated with ornamental patterns; at the top another trochilus of smaller size, an astragalus, and a small torus. The plinth at the foot was only meant to be inserted somewhere, as is shown by its roughly worked surface. H. 0·21. Diam. about 0·55. *Now in Brit. Mus.*

The British Museum acquired, besides the three marbles already mentioned, architectural fragments.

#### STOURHEAD HOUSE (Wiltshire).

(*Ancient Marbles*, p. 661.)

According to the newspapers, the picture gallery and the library of Sir Henry Hoare have been sold by auction, in June and August, 1883. What may have become of the statue, or statues, mentioned in my book?

#### SUNDORNE CASTLE (Shropshire).

This place, the possession of the Rev. J. DRYDEN PIGOTT CORBETT, is situated not far from Shrewsbury. Professor Colvin has directed my attention to a passage in Murray's *Handbook for Shropshire, Cheshire and Lancashire*, 1870, p. 60: 'In the drawing room is a statue of *Venus*, brought from Rome, for which Nollekens is said to have offered a thousand pounds.'

#### WEST PARK (Hants).

I owe to a kind communication of F. Haverfield, Esq., of New College, Oxford, the notice of a *marble bust* preserved at West Park, a country house near Fordingbridge, not far from Salisbury, in the possession of EYRE COOTE, Esq. Two photographs, unfortunately executed on a very small scale, serve to illustrate Mr. Haverfield's description. The bust is covered by a plain breastplate, the midst of which is occupied by a Medusa's head. The neck is rather long. The youthful

head bears a small lion's skin cap instead of a helmet. Mr. Haverfield had already alluded to the bust in the *Journal of Philology*, xii. p. 296, as being 'perhaps the head of a Roman emperor.' Now he is rather inclined to take it for a female head, and, instancing the famous statue of the lion-helmeted Athenè in the Villa Albani, he supposes it to represent the same goddess in similar attire. However, the shape and the material of the breastplate, which is evidently meant to be of metal, as well as the leathern stripes covering the shoulders, would be scarcely consistent with a representation of Athenè; at least I know no example of the kind. It would rather lead us to think, in accordance with Mr. Haverfield's former impression, that the bust represents a youthful warrior; although I am obliged to confess that neither the lion's skin admits of an easy explanation, nor seems the countenance to bear a resemblance to any one of the Roman emperors who might have been represented under the shape of a young Hercules. Perhaps a closer examination of the original would lead to a more satisfactory explanation. The nose and the neck are slightly touched up. The bust is supposed to have been brought from Alexandria, together with a Latin inscription (*Journ. of Philol.* l. cit. *Ephem. Epigr.* v. p. 3 no. 10, p. 259), at the beginning of this century by Major-General Sir Eyre Coote, K.C.B.

Mr. Haverfield further observes that in the second edition of Thomas Walsh's *Journal of the late Campaign in Egypt* (the first edition appeared in 1803) there is an appendix containing a list of ancient remains brought home by the English troops in 1801-2, and among them 'two statues supposed to be of *Severus* and *Marcus Aurelius*, in white marble.' Neither of these statues is at present in West Park.

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At the end of this article which deals with ancient monuments hitherto hidden or not sufficiently known, I beg leave to draw once more (comp. *Anc. Marbles*, p. 161, note 432) the attention of the readers of this Journal to one of the most curious antique marbles which were ever brought to England, long since utterly lost sight of:

## THE CORINTHIAN PUTEAL.

The history of this sculpture is strange enough. About the beginning of this century it was in the possession of a certain Notará at Corinth, a descendant of a noble and ancient Greek family. He had got the marble, being 'a cylindrical piece of marble, pierced in the centre, a foot and a half in height, and sculptured with ten human figures in very low relief,' from a Turk in whose house it had served as the mouth of a well. 'From the friction occasioned by those who drew water from it, the figures were much injured, and most of the heads destroyed.' Notará placed the marble in his garden and adapted it to the same use, but 'the completeness of the stone at the bottom, and the incompleteness at the top, induced Mr. Notará to place the former side upwards, and thus to reverse the figures.' As the European travellers at that epoch used to stay in Notará's house, the *puteal* could not but awake their lively interest. Among those visitors to Corinth were Edward Dodwell, in December 1805, and Martin Leake, a few months later, in April 1806 (Dodwell *Classical Tour*, II. p. 200-202. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III. p. 264-268). Notwithstanding the reversed position of the marble, Dodwell had a drawing of it made by his Italian companion Pomardi, which he published first in his *Alcuni bassirilievi della Grecia* (Rome 1812), and afterwards in his *Classical Tour*; and Leake was among the first who suggested the right explanation (marriage of Herakles and Hebe). A cast also was made and brought to Athens. There Baron Stackelberg, in 1811, made a new drawing of it, which was reproduced in Gerhard's *Antike Bildwerke*, pl. 14-16 (comp. Gerhard's *Hyperbor.-röm. Studien*, II. p. 303). Both drawings have often been repeated. The interest shown by the foreign *dilettanti* had meanwhile induced the owner to transfer the original to Zante, a favourite place for art-dealing at that epoch, and there, I suppose, it was bought by Frederick North, afterwards Lord Guilford, in whose possession it was already in 1819, when Dodwell published his *Journal*. The further fate of the marble can be traced mainly on the basis of authentic information gathered with great care, and kindly communicated to me by Professor Newton. The sculpture was brought to London and there placed in the garden of



Lord Guilford's house, 24, St. James's Place, in which the owner never lived but which was only used as a 'storehouse for books and odd things.' After Lord Guilford's death, in 1827, the *puteal* was sold with the house to Mr. Thomas Wentworth Beaumont who, according to the recollection of Baroness North, a niece of Lord Guilford, declined to part with the marble when either a member of the North family or some lover of art wished to buy it. When I visited London for the first time, in 1861, and together with my friend the late Professor Friederichs made several attempts to rediscover the lost marble, which meanwhile had found its fixed place in all the treatises on the history of Greek art, nobody could tell us where to go in search of it. Nevertheless, it seems certain that at that time it was still in its old place, and that it disappeared only a few years later when, after the death of Mr. Beaumont, the widow sold the house, with the *puteal*, to the present owner, Mr. Jardino, who pulled the house down and rebuilt it. From that time every trace of the marble is lost, and only some poor blackened fragments of a cast bequeathed to the British Museum by the late Earl of Aberdeen remain to give an exact idea of the style of the relief.

The Editors of this Journal have thought it advisable to have a woodcut made from Gerhard's plates, with indications to show of what parts casts now exist, those not remaining being drawn in dotted lines; also to have those parts of these fragments which could be recomposed so as to form complete figures, reproduced on Plates LVI., LVII. They represent Peitho and Hermes, Herakles and Alkmene, according to the common interpretation. The photographs, notwithstanding the fragmentary character of the figures, will serve to show that, on the whole, Pomardi's drawings are materially more trustworthy than those by Stackelberg, but that neither of them is satisfactory as to style. In the figure of Hermes, for instance (which is evidently bearded, not beardless as in Stackelberg's drawing), the contrast between the somewhat slight body, with the characteristic flatness of the abdomen, and the very robust thighs is not well rendered in the engravings. The graceful figure of Peitho is treated on the cast in a much simpler way; the body is broader and less rounded in its outlines as well as in its modelling; that part of the drapery which falls down from

the left arm, shows a more severe and rectilinear arrangement and a flatter treatment; in that part which is grasped with the right hand, the lines of the fold are much harder, the individual folds are far more separated by flat valleys as it were, and they are detached from the leg much nearer to its back outline so as to leave this more distinctly visible; such a separation between body and drapery being a general feature of archaic sculpture. The character of real archaism is still more traceable in the figure of Alkmene, the hard archaic treatment of whose drapery is scarcely to be recognised in the engravings. It strongly recalls some figures of the Thasian relief of Apollo Nymphegetes in the Louvre, the style of which can now be better studied since, on the request of Prof. Colvin, casts have been made. An entirely new feature of the relief is the gentle bending of Alkmene's head, instead of the stiff upright position assigned to it in the former drawings. On the whole, the photographs strongly corroborate the views of those scholars who would like to ascribe the marble not to some later period of imitated archaism, but to an earlier epoch in which true archaic feeling began to be blended partly with a certain dawn of freedom (so especially in the figure of Peitho), partly with a slight exaggeration of traditional habits (so in the figure of Hermes). This conviction cannot but strengthen our wish that the lost original itself might be rediscovered and allow a fuller and final examination.

The question is, Where can this original lie hid? If, as one might suppose, the original was removed with the rest of the demolished house by the contractors who undertook to rebuild it, who knows in what marble mason's yard, or in what cellar the *putrel* may now be cast away? It is well known that the Strangford marbles, now in the British Museum, were discovered by Prof. Newton in a cellar; and so was Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's statue of Hercules which has since entered Mr. Cook's collection, at Richmond. On the other hand, another capital piece of Lord Guilford's collection, a very fine Attic sepulchral relief, has reappeared in the northernmost part of England, in Lord Lonsdale's collection at Lowther Castle (*Anc. Marbles*, p. 492, no. 37), but nobody can tell in what way it came there; the late Lord Lonsdale formed his collection mainly by individual acquisitions at sales and





on similar occasions. These examples may shew that it is no ways a hopeless endeavour to track such lost treasures, and that sometimes a happy chance may help those to discover them who remember in time what has been lost and what is to be recovered. In the present case, the subjoined sketch will serve to help the memory. It is well worth the common efforts of all the English, and especially the London readers of this Journal, to search after such a capital monument as the Corinthian *puteal*. Who will succeed in finding it out? 'Ο μανντὰς γέρας ἐξεί.

AD. MICHAELIS.

STRASSBURG.

## NUMISMATIC COMMENTARY ON PAUSANIAS.

## I.

BOOK I. 39-44.—MEGARICA.

BOOK II.—CORINTHIACA.

THE following paper is the first of a series of two or three which will bring into contact the extant coins of Greece and the text of Pausanias, thus furnishing to many passages of the traveller's writings a running numismatic commentary.

The main object we have set before us is to collect and set forth the numismatic reproductions of works of art mentioned by Pausanias; but we have not excluded any numismatic types which at all illustrate the cults and the legends mentioned by him as existing in the various cities of Peloponnesus.

The importance of the work cannot be doubted when we consider that in the case of many of the statues mentioned by Pausanias the only copies known are those upon coins; we may therefore hope to reconstruct from numismatic evidence, at least the general schemes of many great works of art wholly lost, and thus furnish very important material for recovering the history of Greek art; especially the history of the succession of types of the chief deities of Greece, which is a subject of great and increasing interest to archaeologists.

Generally speaking, the coins on which we can place the most reliance as sources of information as to the monuments are those of Hadrian and the Antonines. These coins are also the best in point of execution; and we may add that they are contemporary with the travels of Pausanias.

To discern whether the types of Greek coins of the Imperial class, with which chiefly we shall have to do, are merely conventional representations of deities, or whether on the other hand they are copies of statues, is not an easy task. But a few rules may be laid down which may be safely used in judging of this matter.

There is reason to suppose that the figure of a deity on a coin is a copy of a cultus-statue in the following cases :—

(1) When it is represented within a temple or shrine. This is the surest of all indications of an intention to copy; and few or no instances will be found in which on coins a merely conventional figure of a deity is placed in a temple. Of course we cannot trust the small and careless representations on coins for accuracy in such details as the number of pillars in a temple, or the design of the pediment; and even in representing the cultus-statue, a die-sinker might take strange liberties. But it seems that in every case he meant to copy so far as his ability and memory served.

(2) When the figure stands on a pedestal, the intention is obviously to represent a statue. By parity of reasoning, when the figure on the coins leans on a pillar, or otherwise is of a design fitted for the round but not for reliefs, it is probably inspired by a statue.

(3) The presence of an altar on a coin is also an indication, although a less trustworthy indication, of the intention to portray a cultus-statue.

(4) So is also any indication of locality, such as a river-god or acropolis-rock. But of course such proofs as these must not be seriously relied on.

(5) When an identical type recurs unchanged on the coins of a series of emperors stretching over a long period, then there arises a presumption that such uniformity is caused by the existence of a sculptural original, constantly under the eyes of successive die-sinkers. They may in some cases have copied the coins one of another, but this is less likely.

(6) Sometimes the language used by Pausanias enables us to determine the connexion of a statue and a coin-type. For instance, he may describe the statue in detail and the description may apply to the coin-type; or he may state the age and the

author of the statue, and these may completely suit the figure of the coin.

(7) In some cases, especially where archaic types are concerned, the figure on the coin may bear sufficient internal evidence of being copied from a statue, and we may in some cases be able to identify that statue from information otherwise gained.

The only previous writer who must be acknowledged as our predecessor is Panofka, who published in 1853-5, *Archæological Commentaries* on certain portions of Pausanias, more especially II. 24, which describes the citadel of Argos. Of course the material at our disposal is far more abundant than that which he could command.

A word must be said as to the share taken in this paper by the two compilers. They began the task independently; for the present article it was found advisable to use the numismatic lists of the Swiss colleague, which were more complete, as a basis: he has also furnished the casts used for illustration in the case of all coins not in England or Paris. The English colleague has added some material and put the article into final form, and is responsible for the comments added after the lists of coins.<sup>1</sup>

The text used is that of Schubring (Teubner 1881).

F. IMHOOF-BLUMER.

PERCY GARDNER.

1

*Abbreviations.*

A 1. II. &c., B 1. II. &c., and so on to	R. and F. Messrs. Rollin et Fœuadont.
M are references to the accompanying	P. O. Count Prokesch-Osten.
plates.	Mus. Nap. Museum of Naples.
Mion. Mionnet.	Arig. Arigoni Catalogue.
M. S. Mionnet, <i>Supplement</i> .	St. Flor. Museum des Stiftes St.
B. M. British Museum.	Florian.
Arch. Z. <i>Archæologische Zeitung</i> .	Mil. Rec. Millingen <i>Recueil de Mon-</i>
Inh. Imhoof-Blumer's Collection.	naies, &c.
Æ copper.	Mil. A. G. C. Millingen, <i>Ancient Greek</i>
Æ silver.	Coins.
Obv. Obverse.	Overbeck K. M. <i>Kunstmythologie</i> .
Rev. Reverse.	Berl. Bl. <i>Berliner Blätter für Münz-</i>
Sup. Supplement.	<i>Siegel- u. Wappenkunde</i> .
Sanc. Museo Sanelementi.	Ann. d. Inst. <i>Annali dell' Inst. arch.</i>
Auton. Autonomous.	di Roma.



## MEGARA.

- 1.—Paus. I. 40, 2. Τῆς δὲ κρήνης οὐ πόρρω ταύτης ἀρχαίων ἐστὶν ἱερόν . . . καὶ ἀγαλμά τε κεῖται χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Σωτείρας . . . τὴν δὲ Ἀρτεμιν αὐτὴν Στρογγυλίων ἐποίησε. Cf. 44, 2, statue of Artemis in temple of Apollo.

ARTEMIS running to the right in short chiton; holds torch in each hand.

Æ Auton. *Obv.* Apollo-head. Neumann I. pl. VII. 4. Mion. II. 141, 319.  
Auton. *Obv.* Head of Eucleides. B.M. Mion. II. 141, 318. (A 1.).  
Ant. Pius. Leake, p. 74. M. Aurel. M.S. III. 588, 377.  
Commodus and Sept. Severus. B.M.

This type of Artemis recurs on coins of Pagae in exactly similar form. It is, as we shall show in treating of that city (*infra*) undoubtedly a copy of the work of Strongylion.

The head of Eucleides of Megara is very peculiar. The philosopher, though bearded, wears the veil and the earring of a woman. It has been suggested by Visconti that this is obviously in allusion to the tale told about Eucleides, that he came disguised as a woman, and veiled, from Megara, to attend the lectures of Plato, at a time when access to Athens was forbidden to the Megarians under pain of death. See Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* vi. 10.

- 2.—Paus. I. 41, 3. Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ἰλλου μνήματος . . . ναὸς . . . Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος . . . Ἀλκάθουν τὸν Πέλοπος . . . τὸ ἱερόν ποιῆσαι τοῦτο Ἀγροτέρα Ἀρτεμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀγραιῶν ἐπονομάσαντα.

Artemis Agrotera in long chiton running to the right, holds bow in left hand, and with right draws an arrow from her quiver.

Æ Caracalla. B. M. (A II.) *Revue Belge*, 1860, pl. II. 6.  
Sept. Severus. B.M.

See also Apollo.

- 3.—Paus. I. 40, 4. Ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι καλούμενον Ὀλυμπιεῖον ναὸς ἐστὶ θέας ἄξιος . . . τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διὸς πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πηλοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ γύψου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ Θεόκοσμον λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον, συνεργάσασθαι δὲ οἱ Φειδίαν.

ZEUS seated on throne, holds Victory.

Æ Ant. Pius. *Arch. Z.* 1843, p. 148, 16.  
M. Aurel. B. M. (A III.) M. S. III. 588, 376.

Zeus seated, holds eagle.

Æ Sept. Sev.

The figure on the coins is the usual conventional representation of a seated Zeus by Pheidias, such as that found on the coins of Elis, of Alexander the Great, &c. It is curious that the Zeus on the coins bears sometimes a Victory and sometimes an eagle. The statues doubtless held a Victory, and it was the natural instinct of Greek art in the good period, in engraving so small a thing as a coin die, to substitute for the Victory a simpler device of the same meaning, such as an eagle, the bird of victory. Accordingly on Alexander's own coins, the Olympian Zeus invariably carries an eagle; on the coins of his successors, a figure of Victory is sometimes substituted.

4.—Cf. Paus. I. 43, 6. *Καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Μούσας καὶ χαλκοῦν Δία ἐποίησε Λύσιππος.* Cf. 40, 6, *Διὸς Κονίου ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον.*

Zeus striding to the right, naked, holds thunderbolt and eagle.

In some cases he seems to stand on a basis, and so to represent a statue.

Æ Caracalla. M.S. III. 590, 384.

L. Verna. Imh. (A IV.)

5.—Paus. I. 40, 6. *Ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνελθοῦσι . . . ἔστι μὲν Διούσου ναὸς Νυκτελίου.* Cf. 43, 5, *ῥηκοδόμησε δὴ καὶ τῷ Διούσῳ τὸ ἱερὸν Πολύειδος, καὶ ξόανον ἀνέθηκεν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἐφ' ἡμῶν πλὴν τοῦ προσώπου. . . . τοῦτον μὲν δὴ Πατρῶον καλοῦσιν· ἕτερον δὲ Διόνυσον Δασύλλιον ἐπονομάζοντες κ.τ.λ.*

DIONYSUS standing, clad in short chiton, holds in right hand kantharos, left rests on thyrsos.

Æ Sept. Sev. Imh. Mion. II. 142, 331 (A v.)

6.—Paus. I. 40, 6. *Τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα Βρύαξιν καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν Ὑγίειαν ἐποίησεν.*

ASKLEPIOS and HYGIEIA, side by side, in usual attitudes.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. (A vi.)

Asklepios standing.

Æ Commodus. Imh. (A vii.)

Caracalla.

Hygieia standing, feeds serpent.

Æ M. Aurel.

Caracalla M. S. III. 590, 386. Leake, Sup. 134.

These figures are of quite conventional type; and as they do not appear in a temple there is no strong reason to suppose that

they repeat the statues of Bryaxis. But at the same time there is nothing at all improbable in such a view. Mr. Wroth, who has made a most careful study of the artistic representations of Asklepios and Hygieia, states his opinion (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* v. p. 90) that the customary late schemes of the pair came into existence about the time of Scopas, and were possibly due to that artist. But the only figure of Asklepios by Scopas, of the details of which we know anything, was beardless (Overbeck, *G. P.* II. 11): so that perhaps the claims of Bryaxis to the origination of the usual type are preferable to his, in the existing state of knowledge.

7.—Paus. I. 44, 2. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν.

OBELISK between two dolphins.

Æ aut. B. M. (A VIII.) Obv. MEF Prow.

For the Greek custom of representing deities in columnar form, Daremberg and Saglio s.v. *Dactylia*, Gardner, *Types*, &c., p. 77, &c. Apollo is thus represented on coins of Ambracia, and commonly in front of Greek houses, as Apollo Ἀργυεύς.

8.—Paus. I. 42, 5. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος πλίνθου μὲν ἦν ὁ ἀρχαῖος ναῖς· ὕστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς ὠκοδόμησεν Ἀδριανὸς λίθου λευκοῦ· ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύθιος καλούμενος καὶ ὁ Δεκατηφόρος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μάλιστα εὐόκασι ξοάνοις, ὃν δὲ Ἀρχηγέτην ἐπονομάζουσιν Αἰγυνητικοῖς ἔργοις ἐστὶν ὅμοιος. Cf. 44, 2. Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Προστατηρίου . . . Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται θείας ἀξίως καὶ Ἀρτεμὶς καὶ Λητώ, καὶ ἄλλα ἀγάλματά ἐστι Πραξιτέλους ποιήσαντος, Λητῶ καὶ οἱ παῖδες. 42, 2. Τότε δὲ αὐτῷ τειχίζοντι, ὥς φασιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, συνεργάζεται τε Ἀπόλλων καὶ τὴν κιθάραν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον· ἣν δὲ τύχῃ βαλὼν τις ψηφίδι, κατὰ ταῦτα οὗτός τε ἤχῃσεν καὶ κιθάρα κρουσθεῖσα.

Cf. also Apollo Agræus, above.

Head of APOLLO. Rev. Lyre, tripod, dolphin or quiver.

R. Æ Auton. B. M.

Apollo standing, holds plectron and lyre.

Æ Ant. Pius. Mion. II. 142, 330 (holds branch instead of plectron).

Carac. M. S. III. 590, 385.

Geta. B. M. Beside Apollo omphalos surmounted by eagles, or altar on which ravens. (A IX.)

## APOLLO ARTEMIS and LETO.

Æ Sept. Severus. Athens Mus. 3218. (A x.)

We have here a most important type, which should be a copy more or less free of the statues of Praxiteles. It merits a detailed description. To the left is Leto clad in long chiton; in her raised right hand she holds a long sceptre, her left hand hangs by her side. In the midst stands Apollo in citharoedic dress, holding in his right hand a plectrum, and in his left a lyre. To the right stands Artemis clad in long chiton with diplois, holding in her left hand a plectrum, and with her right drawing an arrow from the quiver at her back. None of these schemes are in conflict with the style of Praxiteles.

9.—Paus. I. 42, 4. ῥκοδόμηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἀγαλμα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ χρυσῶν πλὴν χειρῶν καὶ ἄκρων ποδῶν ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν ἐστιν ἐλέφαντος. καὶ ἕτερον ἐν ταῦθα ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς πεποιοῖται καλουμένης Νίκης, καὶ ἄλλο Αἰαντίδος.

ATHENE erect, spear in raised right hand, shield on left arm.

Æ L. Verus. Rev. Belge, 1860, Pl. II. 5.

S. Severus. R. and F.

Geta. B. M. (A xi.) Imh.

It would seem that this rather archaic and stiff type is most appropriate to Athene Aiantis.

10.—Paus. I. 40, 6. Ἐν ταῦθα καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ καλούμενον Μέγαρον. Cf. 42, 6, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Θεσμοφόρον.

DEMETER standing veiled clad in chiton with diplois, holds in either hand a torch; before her, large torch fixed in the ground.

Æ M. Aurel. Imh. (A xii.) Verus Commodus. M. S. III. 376-9.

Sept. Severus. Geta. (A xiii.) B. M.

11.—Paus. I. 43, 6. Πλησίον δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ναοῦ Τύχης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Πραξιτέλους καὶ αὕτη τέχνη.

TYCHE wearing mural crown, holds patera and cornucopiae.

Æ Commodus. M. S. III. 589, 380.

Sept. Severus. B. M. Altar before her.

Domna. Mion. II. 143, 332.

Geta. B. M. (A xiv.) Tycho facing, altar beside her.

The mural crown, which is clear on some specimens, may be a mere later addition, but it is by no means unlikely that the scheme of the coin, though quite ordinary, may be copied from the statue of Praxiteles. It is said that Bupalus is the earliest sculptor who made a statue of Tyche; but Praxiteles and

Damophon of Messene set the fashion, so greatly followed in later times, of setting up cultus-statues of the goddess. In all probability the normal type, as represented on our coin, was the invention of one of them. The altar beside Tyche on the coin is an indication of locality which tells in favour of the view that we have to do with a copy of a statue.

12.—OTHER TYPES at Megara:

Herakles resting.

Æ Carac. P. O. Abh. 1845, pl. II. 32.

Sept. Sever. Sanch. II. xxv. 221.

Nemesis (?), right hand on her mouth, leaning on pillar  
(possibly Paregoros, statue by Praxiteles. Paus. I. 43, 6).

Æ Geta. M. S. III. 590, 389.

Terminal figure, with long hair, between pillars of a temple;  
before it, a railing.

Æ Geta. Imh. (A xv.)

13.—Paus. I. 40, 3. Statues of twelve gods.

41, 3. Temple of Isis.

42, 7. Heroon of Ino.

43, 5. Satyr of Praxiteles.

43, 6. Temple and statue of Aphrodite Praxis;  
in it, Peitho and Paregoros by  
Praxiteles; Eros, Himeros, and Pothos,  
by Scopas.

PAGAE.

1.—Paus. I. 44, 4. *Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Παγαῖς θεὰς ὑπελείπετο ἄξιον  
Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτείρας ἐπὶ κλησὶν χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα, με-  
γέθει τῷ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἴσον καὶ σχῆμα οὐδὲν  
διαφόρως ἔχον.*

ARTEMIS running, clad in short chiton, holds torch in each  
hand.

Æ M. Aurel. Sanelementi II. xxII. 175.

Commod. Mion. II. 143, 335. M. S. III. 592, 396.

Similar figure on basis, altar before her.

Æ M. Aurel. Arig. I. 81, 67.

Commod. Mus. Font. I. pl. v. 8. Imh. (A I.)

S. Severus. M. S. III. 593, 400 (Vienna). Leake, Suppl. 137.

Similar figure in temple: tree on either side.

Æ Commod. M. S. III. 592, 397. Munich. (A II.)

This figure of Arteniis was (cf. Paus. I. 40, 2) a replica of that made by Strongylion, the contemporary of Pheidias, for the people of Megara. The coins of Megara and Pagae present us

with figures of Artemis exactly alike. At Pagae this figure appears in a temple and on a basis. There can therefore be no doubt that it reproduces Strongylion's statue. This has been already stated by Streber, and accepted in Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, II. 174 b. Pausanias gives (*l.c.*) an account of the tale which led to the erection of the statue, in which Artemis seems to be embodied as the goddess of night, and is assimilated to the Thessalian Hecate, who also is represented on coins of Pherae of the fourth and third centuries as bearing two torches.

## 2.—OTHER TYPES at Pagae.

Dionysus seated, holds kantharos and sceptre; panther before him.

Æ Sept. Sev. Turin. Panther at his feet. (A III.)

Cybele seated, holds patera and sceptre; lion beside her.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. (A IV.)

Isis in temple.

Bust of Tyche.

Gate with three doors, and figures over them.

Æ S. Sev. Vienna. (A V.) Athens. (A VI.)

Herakles on basis in building of two stories, surmounted by statues.

Æ S. Sev. Vienna. (A VII.)

## ÆGOSTHENA.

1. Paus. 1, 44, 5. Ἐν Αἰγισθένοισι δὲ Μελάμποδος τοῦ Ἀμυθάνου ἐστὶν ἱερόν, καὶ ἀνὴρ οὐ μέγας ἐπειργασμένος ἐν στήλῃ.

Round BUILDING, whence rises a tree, entwined by a serpent.

Æ Geta. Athens. *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1866, 336.

Child suckled by she-goat. (MELAMPUS?)

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. (A I.)

The tree entwined by a serpent is a regular symbol of the grave, and this is sufficient proof that the building represented on the coin of Geta must be a well-known tomb; but as to details we have no information.

I am not aware that there is any record of the existence of a tradition that Melampus was suckled by a she-goat: but nothing is more likely. Such stories were told of highly-gifted men, and it is fairly certain that the type of the coin must refer to a noted native of Aegosthena, and so to Melampus, who was its only remarkable man.

## 2.—OTHER TYPES at Aegosthena.

Artemis as huntress.

Æ Sept. Sev. *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866, 836.

## CORINTH.

In criticising the types which we meet on the coins of Corinth we must always bear in mind the words of Pausanias:

(II. 2, 6.) Λόγου δὲ ἄξια ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ μὲν λειπόμενα ἐτι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐποιήθη τῆς ὕστερον.

It will seem unlikely that a sack, like that of Corinth in B.C. 146, would spare any works of art existing in the city. Yet it appears, alike from the general statement of Pausanias just quoted, and from the remarks which he makes as to various temples and statues, that there were in Roman Corinth a great number of works of early Greek art. Of these some may have been brought into Roman Corinth from neighbouring towns; but others are in character so local that we can scarcely doubt that they belonged to the early city, whatever theory we may form as to the manner of their survival.

The Roman colonists, entering on a wealth of Greek art and legend, adopted both with enthusiasm, and were very proud of both. There is no other Greek city whereof the coins give us so extensive information on the subject of temples and statues, legends and cults. The imperial series of Corinth furnishes a very full archæological commentary on the text of Pausanias: indeed the correspondences between the two are so many and so close, that it seems rather the rule than the exception for coin-types to be copies of works of art, more especially works of early Greek art.

- 1.—Paus. II. 1, 3. Προϊοῦσι δὲ ἡπίτνυς ἄχρι γε ἐμοῦ πεφύκει παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ Μελικέρτου βωμὸς ἦν. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἐκκομισθῆναι τὸν παῖδα ὑπὸ δελφίνος λέγουσι . . . . ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

MELICERTES reclining on dolphin, under pine. Cf. Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1864, 209.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. Imh.

M. Aurelius. Imh. (B I.)

Commodus. B. M. In field, wreath. (B II.)

J. Domna. Imh. In field, two pines, wreath, and palm. (B III.)

J. Domna: M. S. iv. 119, 816. Three trees.

Melicertes on dolphin on altar, under pine (Isthmus sometimes present *q. v.*).

Æ M. Aurel. Mus. Benkowitz. B. M. Isthmus standing by, holds rudder. (B iv.)

M. Aurel. B. M. Athlete by, holds palm. (B v.)

Domna. M. S. iv. 119, 817. Table, Triton, &c. in field.

M. Aurelius. Copenhagen. Poseidon standing by. (B vi.)

Melicertes lying on dolphin under pine: the whole on table.

Æ Ant. Pius. Mion. ii. 181, 244. (B vii.)

Melicertes lying on dolphin, draped.

Æ Auton. Mus. Hunter. Imh.

Auton. *Olv.* Pegasus. Rev. Melicertes on dolphin, head raised. Munich. (B viii.)

L. Verus. B. M., &c.

Paus. II. 1, 7. Τῷ ναῷ δὲ οὗτι μέγεθος οὐ μείζονι ἐφεστήκασι Τρίτωνες χαλκοῖ. καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ προνώῳ, δύο μὲν Ποσειδῶνος, τρίτον δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης, καὶ Θάλασσα, καὶ αὕτη χαλκῇ. τὰ δὲ ἑνδόν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀνέθηκεν Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναῖος, ἵππους τέσσαρας ἐπιχρυσούς πλὴν τῶν ὀπλῶν· ὀπλαὶ δὲ σφισίν εἰσιν ἐλέφαντος. καὶ Τρίτωνες δύο παρὰ τοὺς ἵππους εἰσὶ χρυσοῖ, τὰ μετ' ἱξὺν ἐλέφαντος καὶ οὔτοι· τῷ δὲ ἄρματι Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐφεστήκασι, καὶ παῖς ὀρθός ἐστιν ἐπὶ δελφίνος ὁ Παλαίμων ἐλέφαντος δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ οὗτοι πεποίηται.

Palaeon standing on dolphin, draped.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 98, 666.

Ant. Pius. Mion. ii. 181, 245. Imh. (B ix.)

S. Severus. Mus. Arig. iv. pl. vii. 35. Isthmus seated by. Turin. (B x.)

Paus. II. 2, 1. Τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Παλαίμονος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ναός, ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Λευκοθέα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παλαίμων.

Round temple of Palaeon: within, sometimes Palaeon lying on dolphin.

Æ M. Aurel. B. M. Ox approaching for sacrifice. (B xi.)

L. Verus. B. M. Trees around. Imh. (B xii.)

Geta. B. M. Ox approaching.

Carcalla. M. S. iv. 122, 837. In front priest and ox. B. M. (B xiii.)

Paus. II. 3, 4. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Λευκοθέα καὶ ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐστὶν ὁ Παλαίμων.

Palaeon (or Melicertes *q. v.*) lying on dolphin.

Palaeon sitting on dolphin.

Æ Auton. M. S. iv. 50, 338. Imh. P. holds thyrsus.

M. Aurel. B. M.

L. Verus. Mion. ii. 185, 280. (B xiv.) Florence. (B xv.)

S. Severus. M. S. iv. 115, 784. P. holds wreath, Isthmus seated near.



Commodus. Imh. Group on altar. (B xvi.)

Carac. Parma. Dolphin bridled. (B xvii.)

It is evident from Pausanias' statements, confronted with the coins, that the one among the many stories as to the history of Ino and Melicertes or Palaemon which was accepted at Corinth was that which represented that Ino and Melicertes leaped into the sea at Megara, and Palaemon was borne by a dolphin to the part of the Isthmus where was the sanctuary of Poseidon; that he there died and was buried, and after death was worshipped as a hero, and honoured by funeral games.

It is not easy to reconcile this tale, and the peculiar artistic representation of Melicertes as a young boy which prevailed at Corinth, with the view of those who suppose Melicertes to be a form of the Tyrian god Melkarth. But this matters little to the present purpose, for it is certain that the Corinthians knew nothing of the proposed identification.

On coins there are three schemes of Palaemon and the dolphin: sometimes he is sitting on it, sometimes standing, sometimes lying; the standing figure certainly belongs to the group of gold and ivory set up by Herodes Atticus in the temple of Poseidon; the lying figure is connected with the pine-tree and the altar under it, as well as with the round temple of Palaemon; the seated figure may perhaps be copied from the statue mentioned by Pausanias lower down (II. 3, 4). But of course such distinctions are too nice to be strongly insisted on.

Figures of Ino and Melicertes, as of Poseidon and other types of Corinthian coins are to be found on the splendid cameo of Vienna (Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* III., Gemmentafel II. 8), which presents us with an abridged picture of the region.

2.—Paus. II. 1, 9. Ἀνάκειται Γαλήνης ἄγαλμα καὶ Θαλάσσης, καὶ ἵππος εἰκασμένος κήτει τὰ μετὰ τὸ στέρνον, Ἰνώ τε καὶ Βελλεροφόντης καὶ ὁ ἵππος ὁ Πήγασος.  
(For Ino, cf. I. 44, 7 and 8.)

INO with her veil: beside her, hippocamp.

Æ Ant. Pius. Imh. *Choiz.* pl. II. 50. Vienna. (B xviii.)

L. Verus. Berlin.

INO holding Melicertes in her arms.

Æ M. Aurel. Imh. (B xix.)

Domitian. Berlin. (B xx.)

Domitian. M. II. 177, 218. Isthmus seated on rock, *q.v.* B. M. (B xxi.)

Sept. Severus. B. M. Isthmus seated on rock. Imh. (B xxii.)

Sept. Severus. M. II. 187, 292. Ino on a rock; before her, dolphin.  
Vienna. (B xxiii.)

Caracalla. Imh. *Monn. Gr.* p. 160.

Ant. Pius. Mus. Nap. 7441. Ino and Melicertes: Sea deity holding out his arms to receive the child. (B xxiv.)

The presence of the hippocamp suggests that the type first described, which represents Ino without her child, may represent one of the anathemata of the temple of Poseidon, there set up in Roman times.

The second typo, which appears full-face, represents Ino as holding her child on her left arm, and grasping with her right hand the end of her veil. In the third type she is in rapid motion towards the sea, which is represented on one coin by a marine deity, on others by a dolphin. Sometimes, however, the locality is changed, and in the place of the sea appears a seated figure of Isthmus. As this figure of Ino persists unchanged from the time of Domitian to that of Septimius Severus, it would seem to be based on some work of art.

3.—Cf. 2, 4. Κράνειον. ἐνταῦθα Βελλεροφόντου τέ ἐστι τέμενος καὶ, κ.τ.λ.

BELLEROPHON leading Pegasus: holds spear.

Æ Sep. Sev. Imh. (C xxv.)

Bellerophon taming Pegasus: holds shield.

Æ Nero. B. M. Imh. (C xxvi.)

Hadrian. Paris. (C xxvii.)

Caracalla. B. M.

Bellerophon seizing Pegasus near spring Peirene.

Æ Anton. B. M. (C xxviii.)

Bellerophon watering Pegasus: near by, Acropolis.

Æ Sept. Severus. B. M. (C xxix.)

Pegasus drinking.

Æ Aut. Imh. (C xxx.)

4.—Cf. Paus. II. 3, 5. Κρῆναι. . . θεας δὲ μάλιστα ἀξία ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἔπεστι, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οἱ δι' ὀπλῆς ἵππου ρεῖ τοῦ Πηγάσου.

Bellerophon slaying Chimaera; beside him seated Artemis who holds bow.

Æ Caracalla. A. Z. 1843, pl. ix. 13. B. M. (C xxxii.)

Bellerophon slaying Chimaera, on Corinthian column.

Æ Geta. Mion. II. 189, 304.

Bellerophon slaying Chimaera, mounted on Pegasus.

Æ Anton. B. M. (C xxxi.)

Æ Hadrian. B. M.

L. Verus. B. M., &c.

[A list of Monuments on which the myth of Bellerophon is depicted, by Engelmann, in *Ann. d. Inst.* 1874, p. 1, pls. A—F.]

The presence of Artemis, and the use in some cases of a column to support the group of Bellerophon and the Chimaera, alike indicate that it is copied from the sculptured group of the fountain. The water would flow from one of the forefeet of Pegasus.

5.—Paus. II. 1, 6. *Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι Ποσειδῶνα ἐλθεῖν Ἑλλάδι περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐς ἀμφισβίητησιν.*

Coin with head of HELIOS on one side, Poseidon on the other.

Æ Aut. Roman period. B. M. Imh.

Cf. Poseidon, below.

6.—Paus. II. 1, 5 and 6. *Καθήκει δὲ ὁ τῶν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸς τῇ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρέαις, τῇ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαίῃ θάλασσαν.*

ISTHMUS personified as a young male figure, standing, holding rudders.

Æ Anton. Roman. B. M. (C xxxiii.) Imh. (C xxxiv.)

Domitian B. M. (C xxxv.)

M. Aurel. *Z. f. N.* x. p. 75.

Sept. Sev. St. Florian. (C xxxvi.)

Isthmus seated, holds rudder.

Æ Hadrian. Imh. Isthmus seated in temple, right hand rests on head, left on rudder. (C xxxvii.)

Sept. Severus. B. M. Similar, no temple. (C xxxviii.)

Hadrian. Isthmus seated on rock, holds inverted rudder; legend ISTHMVS.

W. Froebner. (C xxxix.)

S. Severus. Imh. Isthmus seated left, holds rudder and palm; before him Ino and Melicertes, *q. v.*

Domitian M. II. 177, 218. Isthmus seated on rock, at his feet sea and dolphin; opposite Ino with Melicertes in her arms. (Millin. *G.M.* cx. 400, B xxi.)

See also above, (B iv.) and (B x.)

The coin which represents Isthmus as seated within a temple (C xxxvii.) repeats a Corinthian cultus-statue. No doubt Isthmus was personified as a local hero; and tradition must, as the coins show, have connected him with the history of Ino and Melicertes. In his temple he was represented as a young and naked man, seated on a rock, resting his right hand on his head, and supporting himself on his rudder, in an attitude of complete repose. His face is turned backwards, implying probably that Isthmus faced both the eastern and the western sea. Compare a very similar figure of Haemus on the coins of Nicopolis.

If the standing figure of the coins represents a work of art, it might well be a bronze statue erected in the neighbourhood of the Isthmian temple; such a statue is not mentioned by Pausanias. The two rudders in the hands clearly refer to

the two harbours which existed, one on each side of the isthmus.

7.—The two harbours, **LECHAEUM** and **CENCHREAE**.

(1) As nymphs turned opposite ways, each holding a rudder.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. . Inscribed **LECH, CENCH.** (C **XL.**)

(2) As reclining male figures.

Æ Sept. Sev. Mill. *Sylloge*, pl. II. 30. Acropolis; at the foot, on either side, male figure reclining, one holds rudder, one anchor. See below, (G **CXXXIV.**)

8.—Paus. II. 2, 2. 'Ο δὲ Ἰσθμικὸς ἀγὼν, κ.τ.λ.

**ATHLETES**: Two naked wrestlers or boxers.

Æ Ant. Roman. Imh. Wrestlers. (C **XLII.**)

Aut. Roman. Imh. Boxers. (C **XLII.**)

Aut. Imh. Boxer striking one who has fallen. (C **XLIII.**)

**Runners.**

Æ Anton. *Rev. Num.* 1851, p. 402. Armed runner.

Anton. Imh. Unarmed runner, holds palm. (C **XLIV.**)

Domitian. Imh. Unarmed runner, holds palm. (C **XLV.**)

Commod. M. S. IV. 111, 755. Armed runner.

**Other Athletes.**

Æ Anton. Imh. Athlete standing, holds palm.

M. Aurel. B. M. Athlete standing, holds palm, beside Melicertes and pine. See above, (B **V.**)

Conical building; perhaps a spring-house; possibly an obelisk within a stadium.

Æ Domitian. *Arig.* I. 67, 43. Berlin. (C **XLVI.**)

Hadrian. *Revue Belge*, 1860, pl. II. 7. Imh. (C **XLVII.**)

On the Berlin coin the representation varies. There is a door in the midst, flanked by standing figures, and surmounted by a horseman.

**BUILDING**, from the midst of which rises a column surmounted by a naked male figure, holding sceptre: and over each side an equestrian statue.

Æ M. Aurel. M. II. 184, 264. Lenke, *Eur. Gr.* p. 41.

L. Verus. W. Froehner. (C **XLVIII.**)

S. Severus. Mion. IV. 117, 806 (where the equestrian statues are wrongly described as racing horses.)

Caracalla. Mion. IV. 124, 840.

This building may be meant for a stadium or a hippodrome; the latter is not mentioned by Pausanias.

**ISTHMA** in wreath.

Æ Nero. Imh. Anton. Pius and L. Verus. B. M. &c.

9.—Paus. II. 1, 7. Ἐλθόντι δὲ εἰς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν . . . . .

πιτύων δένδρα ἐστὶ πεφυτευμένα ἐπὶ στοίχου, τὰ πολλὰ  
εἰς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντα. τῷ ναῶ δὲ ὄντι μέγεθος οὐ  
μείζονι ἐφεστήκασι Τρίτωνες χαλκοῖ.

Tetrastyle temple of POSEIDON surrounded by Tritons; tree beside it.

Æ L. Verus. M. S. iv. 103, 701.

Geta. Imh. *Choix*, pl. II. 51. (D XLIX.) Vienna. (D L.)

Æ Aut. &c. Tetrastyle temple. (See E xcv.)

The details of architecture are among the matters as to which the representations of coins are least trustworthy. But in this particular case there is an obvious intention to represent the temple of Poseidon as faithfully as space would allow. The tree in front of the temple and the Tritons over the angles of the pediment are certainly taken from the Poseidion. We may therefore venture to accept the numismatic testimony that the little temple of Poseidon was not peripteral but either prostyle or amphiprostyle; and we may even regard it as probable that the temple was tetrastyle.

- 10.—Καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ προνάῳ δύο μὲν Ποσειδῶνος, κ.τ.λ. Cf. 2, 3, ἐν Λεχαίῳ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν, καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν. 2, 8, κρήνη καὶ Π. ἐπ' αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς.

Head of Poseidon, trident over shoulder.

Æ Auton. B. M. Imh.

Hadrian. Imh. (D LI.)

M. Aurel. Imh. &c. Overbeck, *K. M.*, Munzt. v. 14.

Poseidon, naked, seated on rock, holds trident.

Æ Auton. Imh. B. M. (D LII.)

Poseidon standing, holds dolphin and trident, one foot on rock.

Æ Domitian. B. M. Imh. (D LIII.)

M. Aurel. Turin. Behind Poseidon, tree.

Sept. Severus. Imh. Behind Poseidon, tree.

Poseidon standing, left foot on dolphin, in right hand trident.

Æ Domitian. Berlin.

Æ Domna. Aplustre in place of trident.

Poseidon seated, holds dolphin and trident.

Æ Trajan. B. M. (D LIV.)

Hadrian. *Sa. Flor.* pl. II. 16.

Commodus. Imh. B. M. Pallas standing before him. (D LV.)

Verus. Imh. Victorious athlete before him. (D LVI.)

Poseidon standing, holds patera and trident, before altar of Melicertes *q. v.*

Æ M. Aurel. Copenhagen. Near by, tree.

Poseidon standing in chariot drawn by two Tritons.

Æ Domitian. Overb. *K. M.* III. pl. VI. 21. Imh. (D LVII.)

Nero. B. M. (D LVIII.) Octavia. B. M.

Poseidon standing in chariot drawn by hippocamps.

Æ Nero. B. M. Domitian. Imh. (D LIX.)

These figures in chariots may be confronted with Pausanias' description, II. 1, 7 above quoted, of the group of Poseidon and

Amphitrite in a chariot drawn by four horses. The coins cannot, however, embody a reminiscence of the group, as the date of Herodes is later than that at which they were struck.

Of the various figures of Poseidon thus far mentioned the only one which can be regarded as a copy of a statue is that which figures Poseidon as seated (D LIV.—VI.), holding dolphin and trident. This type has the air of the cultus-statue of a temple; but we cannot be sure of the particular temple, for on one coin the seated Poseidon is confronted with an athlete which seems to point to the Isthmus, in another with Pallas, which seems to indicate the market-place. (See below.)

- 11.—Paus. II. 2, 3. *Ἐν δὲ Κεγχρῆαις Ἀφροδίτης τέ ἐστι ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρύματι τῷ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης Ποσειδῶνος χαλκοῦν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον πέρασ τοῦ λιμένος Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἰσιδος ἱερά.*

Views of harbour of CENCHREAE, flanked on either side by temple, and containing standing colossus of Poseidon and three ships.

Æ Ant. Pius. Imh. Millingen, *Réc.* pl. II. 19. Vienna. (D LX.)

POSEIDON standing naked, holds dolphin and trident.

Æ Anton. B. M. Oliv. Head of Helios. (D LXI.)

Commodus. B. M. At feet of Poseidon, second dolphin. (D LXII.)

Plautilla. Vienna. Opposita Poseidon armed Aphrodite. (D LXIII.)

ISIS Pharia, holds sail. Cf. II. 4, 6, Isis Pelagia and Aegyptia.

Æ Plotina. Mion. II. 179, 226.

L. Verus. Imh. (D LXIV.)

Head of APHRODITE: below, galley inscribed CENCHREAE.

Æ Nero. B. M. (D LXV.)

The coin of Millingen (D LX.) is important, as it enables us to identify positively the type of Poseidon represented in the bronze statue of the mole. Poseidon stood erect and naked with a dolphin in one hand and a trident in the other, a figure well adapted for execution in bronze and for a statue of great size. The date of its erection must have been subsequent to the colony of Cæsar; had it belonged to the old city Mummius would scarcely have spared such a mass of metal. In case of the B. M. coin (D. LXII), the second dolphin at the feet of the god may be held to stand for the water of the harbour which flowed at his feet.

The head of Aphrodite on the last coin cited must stand for an abbreviated representation of the temple dedicated to her.

- 12.—Paus. II. 2, 3. Τὴν δὲ ἐς Κεγχρέας ἰόντων ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανον ἀρχαῖον. Cf. 3, 5, μετ' αὐτὸν (Poseidon) Ἀρτεμις θηρεύουσα ἔστηκε (in the baths of Eurycles).

ARTEMIS as huntress : holds torch and bow.

Æ Hadrian. Imh.

Hadrian. Arig. I. 95, 41. Dog and stag beside her.

L. Verus. M. II. 185, 271. B. M. Dog and stag beside her. (D LXVI.)

S. Severus. M. S. IV. 113, 770. B. M. Dog and stag beside her.

Commod. Imh. As before.

Hadrian. M. S. IV. 82, 549. Pillar and stag beside her.

Ant. Pius. B. M. Dog running beside her. (D LXVII.)

Artemis hunting, in temple, holds torch and bow.

Æ Sept. Severus. St. Flor. III. 1. Dog and stag beside her.

Plautilla. On either side of temple, tree. R. and F. (D LXVIII.)

Statue of Artemis, her right hand on her hip, in her left a bow ; opposite, Poseidon (?) ; before each a cippus, that of Poseidon surmounted by a dolphin.

Æ Commodus. Imh. (D LXIX.)

The hunting Artemis in D LXVIII. must be a copy of a statue in her temple ; not the archaic xoanon, but a later figure such as the Greeks from the fifth century onwards commonly set up in the cella in place of the early statues, still retaining the latter in the background.

The figure in D LXIX. would seem to be a copy of the statue which stood in the baths of Eurycles near a statue of Poseidon, and in the neighbourhood of his temple. On the coin the figure of Poseidon is nearly obliterated : it is not indeed certain that Poseidon is the deity represented : the figure seems to wear a long chiton.

- 13.—Paus. II. 2, 4. Πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως κυπαρίσσω ἐστὶν ἄλσος ὀνομαζόμενον Κράνειον. ἐνταῦθα Βελλεροφόντου τέ ἐστι τέμενος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς Μελανίδος. Cf. 2, 8, ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης, Ἑρμογένους Κυθηρίου ποιήσαντος.

APHRODITE standing ; holds sceptre and apple.

Æ Anton. (Obr. Head of Lais ?) Munich.

Sabina. Imh.

Ant. Pius. Mion. II. 181, 242.

M. Aurel. Vienna. (D LXX.)

Caracalla. Imh.

L. Verus. B. M.

Aphrodite naked, her right hand raised to her hair.

Æ Carac. St. Florian. (D LXXI.)

Aphrodite in a biga drawn by Tritons.

Æ Nero. Munich. Holds mirror.

Agrippina, Jun. Turin. (D LXXII.)

Compare the figure of Poseidon in a similar biga mentioned above.

In regard to Hermogenes, Brunn remarks (*Gr. Künstler*, I. p. 522) that he must be assigned to the period of Greek autonomy and not to the Roman age. The coins offer us no safe data for further conclusions.

14.—Paus. II. 2, 4. Καὶ τάφος Λαΐδος, ᾧ δὴ λέαινα ἐπίθημά ἐστι κριὸν ἔχουσα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ποσίν.

The monument of LAÏS; a lioness standing over a prostrate ram, on Doric column.

Æ Auton. Obv. Head of Laïs or Aphrodite. B. M. Imh. (E LXXIII.)

Copenhagen. (E LXXIV.)

Bern. (E LXXV.)

St. Florian. (E LXXVI.)

Sept. Severus. Vienna.

Geta. Imh.

This identification of the tomb of Laïs the Elder has long been accepted, and is so certain as to be beyond dispute. On a B. M. specimen not here figured Leake read on the capital of the column the letters EY. . . which he supposes to be an artist's name (Leake, *Supp. Europe*, p. 121). I am inclined to think that the appearance of letters is fallacious, and due merely to the oxidation of the coin. But if we accept Leake's reading it is likely that the word beginning Eu is not an artist's name, for artists did not put their names in so conspicuous a position on monuments, but some heroic name by which Laïs may have been, so to speak, canonised after her death. The name ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΑ would suit the space very well, and there is certainly at the end an appearance of the letters . . . NA, as well as of EY . . . at the beginning.

The head on the obverse of the coin may be intended either for Aphrodite or for Laïs herself.

15.—Paus. II. 2, 6. Ἔστιν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς . . . . .  
Ἄρτεμις τε ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἐφεσία, καὶ κ.τλ.

ARTEMIS EPHESIA: archaic simulacrum.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 92, 626.

Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 112, 769. Beside her, Aphrodite holding shield.

16.—Paus. II. 2, 6. Καὶ Διονύσου ξόανα ἐπὶ χρυσά πλὴν τῶν προσώπων· τὰ δὲ πρόσωπα ἀλοιφῇ σφίσιν ἐρυθρὰ κεκόσμηται· Λύσιον δέ, τὸν δὲ Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσι· τὰ δὲ λεγόμενα ἐς τὰ ξόανα καὶ ἐγὼ γράφω.

Bearded DIONYSUS standing to right, fully clad, holds kantharos and thyrsos; at his feet, panther.

Æ Hadr. Fox. (E LXXVII.)



Young Dionysus, clad in short chiton, holds bunch of grapes and thyrsos; at his feet, panther.

Æ Ant. Pius. B. M. (E LXXVIII.)

Young Dionysus wearing himation about his loins and leaning on pillar: holds kantharos and thyrsos; at his feet, panther.

Æ Trajan. Copenhagen. (E LXXIX.)

Young Dionysus clad in short chiton; holds kantharos and thyrsos.

Æ Aut. Obv. Head of Kronos. Copenhagen. (E LXXX.)

Young Dionysus seated on throne, holds thyrsos erect.

Æ Ant. Pius. B. M. (E LXXXI.)

Vienna. At his feet, panther. (E LXXXII.)

17.—Paus. II. 2, 8. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τύχης ναὸς. ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν Παρίου λίθου.

TYCHE standing, holding patera and cornucopiae, in hexastyle temple; before her, altar.

Æ Ant. Pius. St. Florian, pl. II. 19.

Tyche, holds patera, rudder, &c.

Æ Auton. M. S. iv. 53, 358. Holds rudder and patera over altar.

Hadrian. M. S. iv. 83, 555. Holds rudder and cornucopiae.

M. Aurel. Mion. II. 183, 257. Holds patera and rudder.

Commodus. M. S. iv. 111, 756, &c.

Plautilla. B. M. Holds patera and cornucopiae. (E LXXXIII.)

Plautilla. B. M. Seated, holds patera and cornucopiae.

Sept. Sev. Imh. Seated. (E LXXXIV.)

Head of Tyche, turreted.

Æ Hadrian. Imh. (E LXXXV.)

Agathos Daemon: male figure holding cornucopiae.

GEN. COL. COR. Octavia. B. M. See below, (G CXLIII.)

The coin first described, that of the St. Florian Collection, is unfortunately ill-preserved, and Dr. Kenner expresses doubts as to the deity whom it is intended to represent. Arneth has described it as Abundantia holding cornucopiae and patera; and this is the impression conveyed by the engraving in Kenner's book. If so, the figure must certainly be a copy of the statue of Tyche in her temple. In consequence of the condition of the coin we cannot be sure as to the attributes given to Tyche; they may even be rudder and patera or cornucopiae, as in the succeeding specimens.

18.—Paus. II. 2, 8. Ἑρμοῦ τέ ἐστιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ μὲν καὶ ὀρθὰ ἀμφότερα, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ καὶ ναὸς πεποιήται.

HERMES naked, standing.

Æ Hadrian. Six. Right hand on head of ram, in left caduceus. (E LXXXVI.)

Anton. Pius. B. M. Left arm rests on tree, caduceus in right. Imh.

(E LXXXVII.)

M. Aurel. *Rev. Belge*, 1865, pl. xvii. 9. As last but one.

Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 113, 777. Holds purse and caduceus : ram.

Caracalla. M. S. iv. 122, 834. Holds purse, caduceus, and chlamys : ram.

Hermes, clad in chlamys, carrying the child Dionysus on his left arm.

Æ Trajan. Mion. ii. 179, 231. (E LXXXVIII.)

The coin of Antoninus (E LXXXVII.) seems to represent a statue, since the scheme of a figure resting on the trunk of a tree as a support is more appropriate to sculpture than to die-sinking.

This figure is remarkable in being entirely nude.

The type of the first coin, (E LXXXVI.), is closely like the seated Hermes, of which we shall speak below ; indeed, so like that both would seem to be work of one artist or one school, probably of Imperial times.

19.—Paus. ii. 2, 8. *Τὰ δὲ (ὑγάλματα) τοῦ Διός, καὶ ταῦτα ὄντα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ κλησιν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν Χρόνιον καὶ τὸν τρίτον καλοῦσιν Ὑψιστον.* Cf. 4, 5, *ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Διὸς Καπετωλίου, &c.*

ZEUS standing naked : holds thunderbolt and eagle.

Æ Domitian.

Anton. Pius. Imh. (E LXXXIX.)

Cf. L. Verus. Mion. ii. 184, 266.

Zeus running, naked, holds thunderbolt and eagle.

Æ Anton. B. M. (E xc.)

20.—Paus. ii. 3, 1. *Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶ χαλκῇ.*

PALLAS standing, holds thunderbolt in right, shield in left.

Æ Anton. *Obv.* Head of Poseidon. Imh. B. M. (E xci.)

Pallas holding Victory and spear ; shield and owl beside her.

Æ Hadrian. M. S. iv. 81, 543. Imh. (E xcii.)

Ant. Pius. M. S. iv. 86, 579/81. Arizoni, &c. Klagenfurt. (E xciii.)

Sept. Sev. M. ii. 187, 291. Altar before her.

Plautilla. B. M. Imh. Altar before her.

Sept. Sev. M. S. iv. 112, 767. Owl before her.

Commod. Imh. Pallas holding patera and spear, face to face with seated Poseidon. See above. (D lv.)

Head of Pallas, helmeted.

Æ Ant. Pius. M. S. iv. 86, 578. Copenh.

The altar placed before the figure of Pallas, who holds Victory and spear, seems to show that this figure is a copy of a statue.

This same figure in slightly varied form (patera for Victory) is placed on the coin of Commodus in near proximity to Poseidon, which may indicate for the original a locality near the Isthmus, rather than in the agora.

- 21.—Paus. II. 3, 1. *Ἐπὲρ δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐστὶν Ὀκταβίας ναὸς ἀδελφῆς Ἀυγούστου.*

TEMPLE, facing, inscribed on the frieze CAESAR, AVGVSTVS or GENT. IVLI.

Æ Augustus. Imh. Livia. B. M. Tiberius. B. M. (E xciv.)

The same temple (?) not inscribed, in profile.

Æ Anton. Imh. (E xcv.)

Livia or Octavia seated, holds sceptre and patera.

Æ Tiberius. B. M. (E xovi.) Agrippa, Jun. B. M.

Head of Roma, turreted.

Æ Ant. Rev. Temple, &c. B. M. &c.

It would seem probable from comparison of the coins that the temple described by Pausanias as that of Octavia was really of the Gens Julia. The seated lady holding sceptre and paterna may be copied from the statue in this temple. In details it exactly resembles the figure on the coins of Tiberius commonly called Livia, but more probably really standing for a personification of the Gens Julia. Such a personification would naturally take the features of one of the imperial ladies, Livia or Julia or Octavia. If in the Corinthian temple the cultus-statue represented the Gens Julia in the likeness of Octavia, then it would be very natural for any visitor to suppose that the temple was dedicated to Octavia.

- 22.—Paus. 3, 2. *Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξιόντων τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαίου προπύλαιά ἐστι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἄρματα ἐπίχρυσα, τὸ μὲν Φάεθοντα Ἥλιου παῖδα, τὸ δὲ Ἥλιον αὐτὸν φέρον.*

PROPYLAEA, surmounted by quadrigas, &c.

Æ Augustus. Mion. II. 172, 185.

Domitian. Munich. (F xcvi.)

Hadrian. Mion. II. 179, 230. (F xcvi.)

Ant. Pius. Imh. (F xcix.)

Commodus. Imh. (F c.)

M. Aurel. M. S. IV. 106, 682. Surmounted by biga.

Helios in quadriga.

Æ Nero. M. II. 176, 209.

Domitian. B. M. (F ci.)

L. Verus. Vienna. (F cii.)

Caracalla. B. M.

Helios in long chiton, radiate, holds whip.

Æ Verus. M. II. 184, 209. Vaillant.

- 23.—Paus. II. 3, 2. *Ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστὶν Ἡρακλῆς χαλκοῦς. Cf. 4, 5, ξόανον γυμνὸν Ἡρακλέους· Δαιδάλου δὲ αὐτὸ φασιν εἶναι τέχνην.*

## HERAKLES standing.

Æ M. Aurel. Mion. II. 182, 252, 253. M. S. IV. 96, 653.

Sept. Severus. Mion. II. 187, 288.

Caracalla. B. M. In attitude of Glycon's statue. (F CIII.)

Herakles naked, to left; club and skin in left; right hand raised; to his left, Aphrodite Urania with shield, and Poseidon.

Æ Commodus. Vienna. (F CIV.)

As two of the deities in this group, Poseidon and Aphrodite, are copied from statues, there is a presumption that the third is so also. The figure of Herakles is not very distinct, but it is unclad but for a lion's skin.

24.—Paus. II. 3, 2. Μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔσοδος ἐστὶ τῆς Πειρήνης ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ.

PEIRENE, personified as a seated nymph, rests left hand on rock, holds in right, pitcher.

Æ Plantilla. Vienna. (F CV.)

Sept. Severus. B. M. Imh. Behind her, snake erect.

Sept. Severus. Beside rock, dolphin.

Sept. Severus. B. M. Before her, fountain in form of Scylla. (F CVI.)

Plantilla. Vienna. Behind her, snake erect. (F CVII.)

Caracalla. Berlin. Behind her, snake erect.

L. Verus. Mill. Rec. II. 21. Vienna. Before her, Pegasus drinking from fountain; in background, Acrocorinthus. (F CVIII.)

Sept. Severus. B. M. Before her, Pegasus drinking from fountain; in background, Acrocorinthus.

As the figure of Peirene is repeated without variation during several reigns, it is likely that it is copied from a statue which adorned the spring.

25.—Paus. II. 3, 2. Ἐτι γὰρ δὴ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄγαλμα πρὸς τῇ Πειρήνῃ καὶ περιβολὸς ἐστὶν.

APOLLO, naked, on basis, right elbow rests on term; below, a basin.

Æ Commod. M. S. IV. 106, 721. Berlin. (F CIX.)

In this case there can be little doubt that we have the copy of a statue.

26.—Paus. II. 3, 4. Αὐτὸς δ' ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ Λεχαίου τὴν εἰθεῖαν χαλκοῦς καθήμενός ἐστιν Ἑρμῆς, παρέστηκε δέ οἱ κριός.

HERMES SEATED on a rock, caduceus in left, right hand on head of ram beside him.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. IV. 94, 639. B. M. (F CX.)

L. Verus. Mion. II. 186, 281.

Caracalla. Gréau, 1481.

Sev. Alexander. Rev. Belge, 1865, XVII. 10.

Hermes as above, seated in distyle temple.

Æ Ant. Pius. Mion. II. 181, 246. Imh. (F CXI.)

Hermes with caduceus, seated in round temple, on which dolphins: on either side of temple a tree.

Æ Domna. Gréau, 1479.

In the coins first described we have an unmistakable copy of the statue of Hermes. The details of the coin correspond altogether to the description of Pausanias: and the representation of the temple in which the figure sits completes the proof.

27.—Paus. II. 3, 5. Κρήναι δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πεποίηνται πᾶσαν . . . . θέας δὲ μάλιστα ἀξία ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἔπesci.

ARTEMIS SEATED on a rock, holds bow; before her Bellerophon on Pegasus slaying Chimaera. Cf. above, under Bellerophon.

Æ Caracalla. *A. Z.* 1843, p. ix. 13. B. M.

Statues of Artemis seated are quite or almost unknown. It would therefore seem most reasonable to suppose that the figure of Artemis on the coin is intended merely to mark the locality. She is seated not on a throne but on a hill, just as we should expect in a deity inserted to indicate locality.

## 28.—FOUNTAINS.

Æ Anton. Pius. M. S. IV. 83, 596. (*Fontana*, II. 2.)

L. Verus. M. II. 185, 272. Fountain surmounted by Scylla. Imh. (F CXII.)

Commodus. Turin. Fountain surmounted by Scylla. (F CXIII.)

Sept. Severus. B. M. Fountain surmounted by Scylla. See above, under Peirene.

Domna. M. S. IV. 119, 813. Scylla between fountains.

Commodus. Imh. Basis on which dolphin, his tail supported by rudder. (F CXIV.)

L. Verus. M. II. 185, 276. Seated lion (fountain or tomb). B. M. (F CXV.)

The coins furnish us with the designs of at least four of the fountains of Corinth: (1) that surmounted by Bellerophon and Pegasus (see above); (2) that surmounted by Scylla; (3) that surmounted by dolphin and rudder; (4) that surmounted by a lion. We may perhaps add to the list the fountain Peirene, if it was surmounted by a figure of the nymph of that name. Probably all these fountains were mere decorative works of Roman times.

29.—Paus. II. 4, 1. Τοῦ μνήματος δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω Χαλινίδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν . . . . τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμά οἱ τοῦτο ξόανόν ἐστι, πρόσωπον δὲ καὶ χεῖρες καὶ ἄκροι πόδες εἰς λευκοῦ λίθου.

ATHENE CHALINITIS holding in right hand bridle, in left hand, spear and shield.

Æ Hadrian. Imh. (F cxvi.)

Probably a copy of the temple-statue, Acrolithic statues do not seem to have been peculiar to any age.

- 30.—Paus. II. 4, 5. Πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ γυμνασίῳ (the ancient) ναοὶ θεῶν εἰσὶν, ὁ μὲν Διὸς ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα, Ἀσκληπιὸς μὲν καὶ Ὑγίεια λευκοῦ λίθου, κ.τ.λ.

ASKLEPIOS and HYGIEIA (together or separate).

Æ L. Verus. B. M. Imh. Together. (F cxvii.)

Sabina. M. II. 180, 237. Asklepios.

Commodus. M. S. iv. 106, 724. Thenp. B. M. Asklepios.

L. Verus. M. S. iv. 102, 693. Hygieia.

Gordian. M. II. 189, 308.

Asklepios (?) in a temple.

Æ Nero. M. S. iv. 73, 487.

Temple, with steps; below these, serpent.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 101, 686. Arig. II. 7, 72. Athens. (F cxviii.)

It cannot be considered certain that this temple *in antis* beneath which is a snake is that of Asklepios. It may be a heroon: indeed from its small size and the curious way in which it is erected on a basis, this seems likely. The figure in the temple on the coin of Nero does not seem to be Asklepios at all, but an emperor; on similar coins of the B. M. a figure clad in a toga is clearly depicted.

- 31.—Paus. II. 4, 6. Ἐς δὴ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον τοῦτον ἀνιοῦσιν ἐστὶν Ἰσίδος τεμένη.

ISIS holding sistrum and vase.

Æ Hadrian. Arig. I. 95, 39. Turin. (F cxix.)

- 32.—Paus. II. 4, 7. Ὑπὲρ τοῦτο Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς ἐστι.

CYBELE seated, lion beside her.

Æ Anton. Pius. M. S. iv. 85, 576.

M. Aurel. Imh. (F cxx.)

Domna. Imh.

- 33.—Paus. II. 5, 1. Ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτῇ τε ὦπλισμένη καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἔρως ἔχων τόξον.

APHRODITE, naked to waist, holds shield, sometimes with Eros.

Æ Anton. Obv. Head of Aphrodite. B. M. Eros behind her. (G cxxi.)

Hadrian. M. II. 179, 232. Without Eros.

M. Aurel. Imh. Without Eros.

M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 94, 635. Arig. Eros beside her.

L. Verus. M. II. 185, 273. Imh. Eros beside her. (G cxxii.)

Commodus. B. M. Imh. Eros beside her. (G cxxiii.)

Commodus. M. S. iv. 107, 725. Two Erotes by her.

Plautilla. B. M. Two Erotes by her. (G cxxiv.)

Aphrodite on ACROCORINTHUS, without temple.

Æ Plautilla. B. M. Lynes. (G cxxv.)

Aphrodite in temple on Acrocorinthus.

Æ Anton. Pius. M. S. iv. 87, 588. Arig. Tetrastyle temple.

Hadrian. Parma. Tetrastyle temple.

L. Verus. B. M. (G cxxvi.) S. Severus. B. M. Tetrastyle temple.

M. Aurel. M. II. 182, 255. Distyle temple.

M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 94, 634—636. Distyle temple, with Eros.

S. Severus. M. S. iv. 113, 773. Arig. Distyle temple.

Acropolis rock ; Pegasus flying above it.

Æ Claudius. M. II. 175, 202. (G cxxvii.)

Temple on Acrocorinthus.

Æ Claudius. M. II. 172, 187. Imh. (G cxxviii.)

Hadrian. M. II. 179, 229. B. M. (G cxxix.)

M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 101, 687. B. M. At foot, buildings and trees.

(G cxxx.) Arolsen. (G cxxxi.)

L. Verus. M. S. iv. 104, 710. Mill. *Réc.* II. 20. At foot, tree; Pegasus flying. Naples. (G cxxxii.)

Commodus. M. S. iv. 102, 765. Imh. At foot, tree; Pegasus flying. (G cxxxiii.)

Aphrodite on Acrocorinthus, between two harbours (cf. above).

Æ S. Severus. B. M. Vienna. (G cxxxiv.)

Aphrodite Urania and Poseidon. See Poseidon.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 94, 637.

Plautilla. Vienna.

Aphrodite and Herakles.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 94, 638. Arig.

Commodus. M. S. iv. 109, 739. Arig. Eros between them. *St. Flor.* I. 13.

Aphrodite, Poseidon, and Herakles (see above).

Æ Commodus. M. S. iv. 107, 728. Theup. Vienna.

This important series of coins furnishes complete proof, as Imhoof has pointed out more than once (see *Monn. Grec.* p. 158), of the type of the statue of Aphrodite which stood on the Corinthian acropolis. The figure of armed Aphrodite which existed there under the Empire was no archaic figure of an armed goddess, such as the Syrian Astarte, but an unmistakable Greek Aphrodite, using the shield of Ares as a mirror. This is a motive natural to Roman rather than to Greek art, and we may be almost sure that the statue does not date from an earlier period than that of Julius Cæsar. Indeed to his time it would be peculiarly appropriate, considering his descent and pretensions.

Imhoof has also observed that Lenormant's idea that the helmeted head on the early autonomous coins of Corinth is that of the armed Aphrodite must be given up, seeing that Pausanias is the only writer who speaks of a statue of armed

Aphrodite at Corinth, and it is certain that the figure seen by him was not helmeted: there is, therefore, no evidence of the existence at Corinth of a helmeted Aphrodite.

The type of Aphrodite herself is fixed and scarcely varies; no doubt it reproduces the exact scheme of the statue. But the figure or figures of Eros which appear beside her seem to be mere attributes, as they hold wreaths and not bows.

The temple of Aphrodite is represented sometimes as tetrastyle sometimes as hexastyle, sometimes as prostyle and sometimes as peripteral: all of which proves that in matters of architectural detail coins are not trustworthy.

#### 34.—OTHER TYPES at Corinth.

Kronos standing, holds sickle.

Ant. Pius. Paris. (G cxxxv.)

Head of Kronos, sickle over shoulder.

Auton. Copenhagen.

Hephaestus, naked to waist, tongs in left hand.

M. Aur. Imh. (G cxxxvi.)

Ares to right, holding spear and trophy.

M. Aur. Copenhagen. (G cxxxvii.)

Triptolemus on winged car drawn by serpents.

Auton. M. II. 169, 162. (G cxxxviii.)

Male figure seated (Populus), clad in himation, inscribed POPVL.

COL. COR.

Verus. Paris. (G cxxxix.)

Military female figure (Achaia?) seated on rock, holds spear and sword; in front, ears of corn.

Geta. Imh. (G cxi.)

Victory flying to left.

M. Aurel. Récanier. (G cxli.)

Victory facing.

Augustus. Imh. (G cxlii.)

Male figure, Genius, holds patera and cornucopiae, inscribed

GEN. COL. COR.

Auton. B. M. (G cxliii.)

Palm tree within inclosure.

Ant. Pius. Munich. Imh. L. Verus. B. M. (G cxliv.)

The following in Mionnet seem to be some of the above types wrongly described; Eros in quadriga; Pan holding pedom; Pharos and ship; Head of Indian Dionysus; Cadmus attacking serpent, (see under Argos—Opheltes.)



Some of the types proper to Corinth are repeated on the coins of other cities. For instance, the seated Hermes, and the Aphrodite of the Acropolis, are repeated on the coins of Patrae. In the same way the Corinthian coins repeat the Argive type of Opheltes.

## SICYON.

- 1.—Paus. II. 7, 2. Αὐτοὶ δὲ Σικυώνιοι τὰ πολλὰ εἰκότι τρόπῳ θάπτουσι. τὸ μὲν σῶμα γῇ κρύπτουσι, λίθου δὲ ἐποικοδομήσαντες κρηπίδα κίονας ἐφιστᾶσι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίθημα ποιοῦσι κατὰ τοὺς αἰετοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς.

TOMB (*ναῖδιον*) on basis, between two terminal figures and two cypresses.

Æ S. Severus. Mion. S. iv. 169, 1123.

Caracalla. Imh.

Plautilla. Allier, pl. vi. 15. B. M. (H 1.)

Caracalla (without and with cypresses). Imh. (H 11.)

The design of the coin illustrates very well the words of Pausanias. Below, we see a basis or pedestal, apparently round; on it, four pillars erected, supporting an aëtoma. In the midst there seems to be a statue. It does not appear, either from Pausanias' words, or from the coin, that the *ναῖδιον* on the pedestal had walls: rather it would seem that the roof rested on pillars only. The terminal figures on the coin may represent smaller tombs, or they may define the bounds of a temenos. The cypress was sacred to Hades: see Lajard, *Culte du Cyprès*, p. 231.

- 2.—Paus. II. 7, 5. Ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει Τύχης ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀκραίας, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ Διοσκούρων. ξόανα δὲ οὔτοι τε καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Τύχης ἐστί.

TYCHE AKRAIA, standing, with patera and cornucopiae.

Æ J. Domna. M. S. iv. 170, 1127.

Plautilla. B. M. (H 111.)

Geta. M. S. iv. 173, 1146. Imh. (With altar.)

- 3.—Paus. II. 7, 5. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ θέατρον Διούσου ναὸς ἐστὶ χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὁ θεός, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Βάκχαι λίθου λευκοῦ.

DIONYSUS standing, holds kantharos and thyrsus, panther at his feet.

Æ Domitian. M. S. iv. 169, 1122.

S. Severus. (H iv.)

Domna. B. M. (H v.)

Caracalla. M. S. iv. 170, 1133. Wiczay.

BACCHA or Maenad in attitude of ecstasy, holds knife.

Æ J. Domna. B. M. (H vi.) Imh. (H vii.)

4.—Paus. II. 7, 8. Οἱ δὲ παῖδας ἐπὶ τὰ καὶ ἴσας παρθένους ἐπὶ τὸν Σῦθαν ποταμὸν ἀποστέλλουσιν ἱκετεύοντας (yearly ceremony).

SUPPLIANT BOY (?) with raised hands, holding stemma.

Æ Autonomus. B. M. At Alexander the Great. B. M.

J. Domna. Turin. (H viii.)

Plautilla. B. M. (H ix.)

This figure, the attribution of which is doubtful, has greatly perplexed numismatists. It has been called hitherto a bird-catcher, or, as by Müller (*Alex. le Gr.* p. 219), Apollo in dancing attitude, holding up taenia. In numismatics the type is peculiar to Sicyon: and as it recurs without variation from the time of Alexander the Great to that of Plautilla, it must almost certainly repeat a Sicyonian work of art.

5.—Paus. II. 7, 9. Τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι . . . . . τὸν δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα Πυθοκλῆς ἀνέθηκεν (cf. 9, 7, ruined temple of Apollo Lycius: 10, 2, adytum of Apollo Carneius).

APOLLO in citharoedic dress, holding lyre.

Æ Domna. Leake, *Suppl.* 145.

Plautilla. M. ii. 200, 381.

Caracalla. M. S. iv. 171, 1135. Theup. and Sestini.

It seems not improbable that the Pythocles here mentioned, who is evidently regarded by Pausanias as a well-known man, is the same as the Pythocles mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 51) as a famous artist of the period after Ol. 156. This clue would be of value if we could be sure that the coin reproduced a statue of Pythocles: but this cannot be proved.

6.—Paus. II. 9, 6. Τῆς δὲ ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς, τέχνη Λυσίππου. Cf. ἔστι δὲ Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος . . . . σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα οὐδεμιᾷ.

ZEUS standing, undraped; holds thunderbolt and sceptre.

Æ Caracalla. B. M. (H x.)

Zeus seated, holding patera and sceptre.

Æ Geta. M. S. iv. 172, 1143. Vaillant.

The standing figure of Zeus would certainly well suit the school of Lysippus: it belongs to group 11 of Overbeck's arrangement (*Kunstmyth.*, II. p. 151). Zeus is entirely undraped, and of a scheme which especially befits bronze. If the Sicyonian statue of Zeus Meilichius was a copy of that of Argos, it must

have been seated, like the second type here cited. See below under Argos.

- 7.—Paus. II. 10, 1. 'Εν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὄντι οὐ μακρὰν Ἡρακλῆς ἀνέκειται λίθον, Σκόπα ποιήμα. "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτέρῳθι ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους.

HERAKLES standing, holds apples (?) and club; lion's skin over left arm.

Æ Geta. B. M. (H XI.)

The figure of Herakles on the coin is unfortunately indistinct: but the deity seems to be unbearded, and of somewhat slight build.

- 8.—Paus. II. 10, 2. 'Ες δὲ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἐσιούσι . . . . . τῇ μὲν Πανὸς καθήμενον ἄγαλμά ἐστι (cf. 11, 1, βωμὸς Πανός).

PAN walking, holds goblet, and goat by the horns.

Æ Plautilla. Imh. (H XII.)

- 9.—Paus. II. 10, 2. Τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον . . . . . ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔχων γένεια, χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Καλάμιδος δὲ ἔργον ἔχει δὲ καὶ σκῆπτρον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας χειρὸς πίτυος καρπὸν τῆς ἡμέρου. Cf. 11, 6, Statue of Hygieia (archaic).

ASKLEPIOS standing, with usual attributes.

Æ Caracalla. M. S. IV. 170, 1131. (Vaill.)

Domna. (H XIII.)

Hygieia standing.

Æ Geta. M. II. 201, 382. B. M. (H XIV.)

- 10.—Paus. II. 10, 4. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν . . . . . τὸ μὲν δὲ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον Κάναχος Σικυώνιος ἐποίησεν . . . . . πεπολῆνται δὲ ἔκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πόλον τῶν χειρῶν δε ἔχει τῇ μὲν μήκωνα τῇ δὲ ἐτέρα μῆλον.

APHRODITE standing, in attitude of Venus de' Medici.

Æ S. Severus. Bologna. Beside her Eros on basis, holding torch. (H XV.)

Domna. Arch. Z. 1869. pl. XXIII. 7. Imh. Beside her dolphin. (H XVI.)

DOVE.

Æ Anton. B. M.

- 11.—Paus. II. 10, 7. 'Εν δεξιᾷ Φεραιᾶς ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος· κομισθῆναι δὲ τὸ ξόανον λέγουσιν ἐκ Φερῶν. Cf. 9, 6, Artemis Patroa; 7, 6, Artemis Limnaea; 10, 2, τῇ δὲ Ἀρτεμις ἔστηκεν.

ARTEMIS, clad in long chiton and mantle, with torches in her raised hands.

Æ Geta. Dresden. (H XVII.) Imh. (H XVIII.)

Similar figure, in temple.

Æ Caracalla. Paris. (H xix.)

There can be little doubt that we have in this figure a copy of the statue which stood in the temple of Artemis Pheraea. We are told that it was brought from Pherae. The coins of Pherae, from the fourth century onwards, present us with a female figure holding two torches or one torch, which may be meant for Artemis, but more probably represents Hecate, a deity greatly worshipped in the south of Thessaly. But the distinction is not important, as the torch-bearing Artemis and Hecate are closely allied.

12.—Paus. II. 11, 2. *Καταβαίνουσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδῖον ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος· ἰδρῦσαι δὲ φασιν αὐτὸ Πλημναῖον.*

DEMETER seated on throne, wears polos, holds ears of corn in each hand.

Æ Sep. Severus. Imh. (H xx.)

The throned figure of the coins has much of the air of the cultus statue of a temple.

13.—Paus. II. 11, 1. *Ναός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς* (cf. 12, 1, Temple of Athene at Titane).

PALLAS standing; holds lance and buckler.

Æ Caracalla. M. S. iv. 170, 1130. Vaill.

14.—OTHER TYPES:

Serapis and Cerberus.

Eros with torch.

Nike.

#### PHLIUS.

1.—Paus. II. 12, 4. *Ἀσωπὸς . . . ἐξέυρε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ὕδωρ.*

Butting BULL (type of river or of Dionysus, see below).

Æ Auton. B. M. (H i.)

2.—Paus. II. 13, 3. *Τὴν δὲ θεὸν ἥς ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερόν οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιότατοι Φλιασίων Γανυμήδαν, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Ἥβην ὀνομάζουσιν.*

Head of HEBE (?), hair rolled.

Æ Auton. B. M. (H i.)

This attribution is not certain, but highly probable. The character of Hebe's head is not unlike that of Hera, but younger and less dignified. She wears no ornaments, but her hair is simply rolled at the back.

- 3.—Paus. II. 13, 5. Ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐνταῦθα χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα, δὲ φαίνεται ἀρχαῖον εἶναι μοι.

ARTEMIS hunting, with dog.

Æ Geta. *Rev. Belge*, 1860, pl. II. 9.

- 4.—Paus. II. 13, 5. Κατιόντων δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ, καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον πω γένεια.

ASKLEPIOS standing, bearded, with attributes.

Æ S. Severus. M. S. IV. 159, 1044. *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* IV. 50.  
Caracalla. M. II. 198, 363.

- 5.—Paus. II. 13, 7. Διωνύσου σφίσιν ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον.

Bull butting (Dionysus?). Ivy: grapes.

Æ Auton. B. M.

Head of Dionysos. *Rev.*, Bull butting and thyrsos.

Æ Auton. Imh.

- 6.—OTHER TYPE. Tyche sacrificing at altar: holds patera and cornucopiae.

Æ Plautilla. B. M. Sept. Sev. Geta.

#### CLEONAE.

- 1.—Paus. II. 15, 1. Ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἱερόν Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα Σκύλλιδος τέχνη καὶ Διποίνου.

ATHENE standing, holds lance and shield (archaic).

Æ Geta. M. II. 237, 58. B. M. (H 1.) Cf. *Caved. Spic.* 105.

The Athene of the coin seems an interesting record of the archaic statue of Dipoenus and Scyllis, whom Pliny gives to the 50th Olympiad, and who were among the first to produce national Greek types of various divinities. The present coin-type represents a figure of Athene retaining the pose of the still older Palladia, but far more refined in detail. The helmet is larger, the aegis on the breast worked out; folds appear in the chiton, and the feet are articulate.

#### 2.—OTHER TYPES:

Eagle on altar. (See Argos.)

Asklepios seated with dog (cf. Epidauros).

Isis, holds sistrum and vase.

Plautilla. B. M.

Isis Pharia.

Carac. St. Flor. pl. III. 19.

Tyche, holds patera and cornucopiae, at altar.

Plautilla. B. M. (H II.)

Artemis accompanied by hound.

Horse ridden by human head.

Domna. B. M.

## NEMEA. (Coins of Argos.)

- 1.—Paus. II. 15, 2. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὄρεσι τὸ σπήλαιον ἐτι δέικνυται τοῦ λέοντος.

HERAKLES strangling the Nemean lion.

Æ Trajan. M. S. iv. 240, 27.

Sept. Severus. M. II. 235, 48.

Domna. Leake, p. 20. (I i.)

- 2.—Paus. II. 15, 2. Τὸν Ὀφέλτην ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῆς τροφῆς τεθέντα ἐς τὴν πόαν διαφθαρῆναι λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος . . . . ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν Ὀφέλτου τάφος.

OPHELTES, the serpent, and Hypsipyle.

Æ Hadrian. Arch. Z. 1869, pl. xxiii. 12. Hypsipyle, and serpent twined around Opheltes.

Anton. Pius. Imh. Opheltes in coils of serpent. (I ii.)

L. Verus. L.c. No. 13. Nurse, a hero, and Opheltes lying dead; also serpent.

S. Severus. M. Fontana, I. pl. II. 18. Hero fighting snake, Opheltes on the ground. B. Turin. (I iii.)

J. Domna. B. M. Hypsipyle flying, snake twined around Opheltes. (I iv.)

Plautilla. A. Z. 1869, No. 11. Serpent coiled over dead Opheltes. Imh. (I v.)

Domna. Munich. Naked male figure, facing; at his feet Opheltes, to right, snake. (I vi.)

Also Æ of CORINTH. Domitian. Mill. An. G. C. pl. iv. 14. Hero fighting serpent, who holds Opheltes in mouth. Imh. (I vii.)

S. Severus. Mill. An. G. C. pl. iv. 16. Similar. Imh. (I viii.)

Caracalla. Fox. Hero fighting snake, beneath whom Opheltes, Hypsipyle fleeing. (I ix.)

The variety in the types representing the fate of Opheltes is remarkable, and seems to prove that at Argos the subject was a favourite one with artists. For illustrations of the subject from vases, &c., see Overbeck's *Heroische Bildwerke*. Some of the above-described coins are published by Dr. Friedlander in the *Archäol. Zeitung* for 1869.

- 3.—Paus. II. 15, 3. Καὶ δὴ καὶ δρόμου προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα ἀνδράσιν ὀπλισμένοις Νεμεῶν πανηγύρει τῶν χειμερινῶν.

Symbols of NEMEAN GAMES (also Heraea, cf. Paus. II. 24, 2).

Æ Anton. Pius. M. II. 234, 44. Imh. ΝΕΜΕΙΑ ΗΡΑΙΑ. Table, peacock, and eagle.

Anton. Pius. Leake, *Suppl.* 114. ΝΕΜΕΙΑ in parsley crown.

M. Aurelius. Verus. Commodus. S. Severus. Domna. As last.

Domna. Table, on which eagle, wreath, and owl.

- 4.—Paus. II. 15, 3. Ὅρος Ἀπέσας ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Νεμέαν, ἐνθα Περσέα πρῶτον Διὶ θῦσαι λέγουσιν Ἀπεσαντίφ.

Symbol of Zeus on MOUNT APESAS. (Coins of CLEONAE.)

Æ S. Severus. Hill, on which a cippus or altar, surmounted by an eagle.

Mus. Sanclem. N. S. II. pl. xxv. No. 219.

Domna. Mus. Arig. i. *Impp.* VIII. 13. Similar.

Geta. Mus. Arig. i. *Impp.* IX. 137. Similar.

Herakles clad in lion's skin, resting at the foot of Mount Apesas, on the summit of which is an eagle. (Coin of ARGOS.)

Æ Sept. Sev. Berlin. (I x.)

HERAEUM near Argos. (Argive coins.)

5.—Paus. II. 17, 3. Ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάφῃ τῇ μὲν Χάριτες ἀγάλ-  
ματὰ ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖα.

The three CHARITES, naked, embracing one another (conventional group).

Æ Sept. Severus. Imh. (I XI.)

6.—Paus. II. 17, 4. Τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἥρας ἐπὶ θρόνον  
κάθεται μεγέθει μέγα, χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος,  
Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον· ἔπεστι δὲ οἱ στέφανος Χάριτας  
ἔχων καὶ Ὀρας ἐπειργασμένας, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ μὲν  
καρπὸν φέρει ροιᾶς, τῇ δὲ σκήπτρον . . . κόκκυγα δὲ  
ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθῆσθαι φασι, κ.τ.λ.

HERA SITTING, holds pomegranate and sceptre, turreted.

Æ Anton. Pius. B. M. Mion. S. IV. 242, 43. (I XII.)

L. Verus. B. M. Also Sept. Severus and Caracalla.

Domna. Overbeck, *K. M. Hera*, pl. III. 3. Imh. (I XIII.)

Head of Hera, wearing stephanos adorned with flowers.

Æ Autonomus. B. M. Imh. (I XIV.)

Paus. II. 17, 5. Λέγεται δὲ παρεστηκέναι τῇ Ἥρᾳ τέχνη  
Ναυκύδους ἄγαλμα Ἡβης.

HERA and HEBE, peacock between them (cf. below).

Æ Anton. Pius. Overbeck, *Hera*, pl. III. 1. Imh. (I XV.)

The coins reproduce faithfully the details of the statue of Polycleitus, even, in some instances, to the cuckoo on her sceptre (I XII.). They are fully discussed in Overbeck's *Kunstmythologie* (II. p. 43). It is elsewhere suggested (Gardner, *Coins of Elis*, p. 19) that the flowers with which the stephanos of Hera is adorned on I XIV. are an abridged symbol of the Horae and Charites whose figures were introduced in the same place by Polycleitus.

The statue of Naucydes is also repeated on the coin, a standing figure with one hand advanced, clad in long chiton.

7.—Paus. II. 17, 6. Χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ λίθων λαμπρόντων Ἀδριανὸς  
βασιλεὺς τὰν ἀνέθηκεν.

PEACOCK (see above).

Æ Hadrian. B. M. Peacock facing, tail spread. (I XVI.)

Gordian III. Salonina. B. M. Imh. Peacock to right.

The peacock on Hadrian's coin is probably a copy of his anathema: that on the later coin may be a merely conventional representation.

#### ARGOS.

8.—Paus. II. 18, 1, 'Εκ Μυκηνῶν δὲ εἰς Ἄργος ἐρχομένοις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Περσέως παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐστὶν ἡρῶν.

PERSEUS standing, holding Gorgoneion in right, harpa and chlamys in left.

Æ Hadrian. Imh. (I xvii.)

L. Verus. B. M. (I xviii.) Also Mion. S. iv. 246, 66.

Sept. Severus. B. M. Also Mion. S. iv. 249, 86.

Valerianus. M. S. iv. 255, 124.

Perseus facing, holds in right harpa, in left Gorgoneion, above shield, which rests on cippus.

S. Severus. Imh. (I xix.)

S. Severus. Imh. *Choix*, pl. ii. 67. To right, Pallas turning away. (I xx.)

Head of Perseus, winged; in front, harpa.

Æ Ant. Pius. Venice. (I xxi.)

The type of Perseus (I xvii. xviii.), which is repeated without variation from the time of Hadrian to that of Severus, should be copied from a statue.

9.—Paus. 19, 3. Ἀργείοις δ' τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν Λυκίου· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀττάλου ποίημα ἦν Ἀθηναίου (cf. Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, I. p. 558; Attalus' date is unknown).

APOLLO, naked, left arm resting on pillar, in right, twig (Lycius?)

Æ Verus. M. S. iv. 245, 63.

Cf. Paus. II. 19, 8. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυιεύς.

24, 1. Ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος . . . τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν χαλκοῦν ἐστὶν ὀρθὸν, Δειραδιώτης Ἀπόλλων καλούμενος.

Apollo advancing, naked, drawing arrow from quiver.

Æ M. Aurel. M. ii. 235, 45.

Apollo in Citharoedic costume.

Æ Verus. B. M. Holds lyre and patera. (I xxii.)

S. Severus. M. S. iv. 247, 76. Holds lyre and plectrum.

Caracalla. Imh. Holds lyre and plectrum. (I xxiii.)

Plautilla. *Inst. Mus. Hec.* p. 137, 40. Holds lyre and plectrum.

J. Domna. M. S. iv. 251, 102. Holds lyre and patera.

Plautilla. Imh. Holds lyre and patera. (I xxiv.)

Head of Apollo: Wolf: tripod.

Æ Anton. B. M.



- 10.—Paus. II. 19, 4-7. Βόθρος, πεποιημένα ἐν τύπῳ ταύρου μάχην ἔχων καὶ λύκου, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρθένον ἀφιεῖσαν πέτραν ἐπὶ τὸν ταῦρον.

Battle of bull and wolf.

Æ Anton. Imh. *Böhlen u. Argos*, p. 55, No. 17.

- 11.—Paus. II. 20, 1. Ἀγαλμά ἐστι καθήμενον Διὸς Μειλιχίου, λίθου λευκοῦ, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον.

Cf. 19, 7. Διὸς ξόανον. 19, 8. Βωμὸς Ὑετίου Διός. 20, 6. Διὸς ἱερὸν Σωτήρος. 21, 2. Διὸς Φυξίου βωμὸς. 22, 2. Ἀγαλμα ἀρχαῖον Διός. 24, 3. Ἐπ' ἄκρα δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ Λαρίσῃ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Λαρισαίου ναός . . . το δὲ ἄγαλμα ξύλου, κ.τ.λ. . . . ἐνταῦθα ἀναθήματα κεῖται καὶ ἄλλα καὶ Ζεὺς ξόανον, δύο μὲν ἢ πεφύκαμεν ἔχον ὀφθαλμούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου.

ZEUS seated, holds patera and sceptre.

Æ Anton. Pius. M. S. iv. 242, 42.

M. Aurelius. M. S. iv. 244, 55.

L. Verus. (K xxv.)

Zeus seated, holds eagle or Victory.

Æ Sept. Severus. Holds eagle.

Plautilla. Holds victory. Mion. II. 235, 50. (K xxvi.)

Zeus striding, naked, holds eagle and thunderbolt.

Æ Plautilla. M. S. iv. 253, 112. Sestini.

Head of Zeus.

Æ Hadrian. M. S. iv. 240, 23. Imh. (K xxvii.)

L. Verus. M. S. iv. 245, 53.

Paus. II. 20, 3. Τούτων δ' ἀπαντικρὺ Νεμείου Διὸς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦν, τέχνη Λυσίππου.

Zeus, naked, standing, sceptre in right hand: eagle at his feet.

Æ Hadrian. B. M.

M. Aurelius. Imh. (K xxviii.)

Sept. Severus. B. M. &c.

J. Domna. M. S. iv. 251, 99. Plautilla. M. S. iv. 253, 113.

The number of statues of Zeus at Argos is so large that it is not possible to be sure whether we have copies of any of them on coins. It is possible that the type first described (K xxv.) may reproduce the figure of the Zeus Meilichius; and the type of the head of Zeus is decidedly fine and early; we may suspect it to be a reminiscence of the head of Polycleitus' statue. With more confidence we may suppose that the standing Zeus of the coins (K xxviii.) is a copy of Lysippus' statue; for in this case the coin-type persists practically unchanged through several reigns.

But in all these cases the evidence of copying is internal rather than external; we therefore prefer to leave the matter for future discussion.

- 12.—Paus. II. 20, 3. Πέραν δὲ τοῦ Νεμείου Διὸς Τύχης ἐστὶν ἐκ παλαιοτάτου ναὸς, εἰ δὴ, &c.

TYCHE standing, holds cornucopiae.

Æ Anton. Third century, v.c. B. M. Holds patera and cornucopiae. (K xxix.)

M. Aurelius. Imh. Holds patera and cornucopiae.

L. Verus. M. S. iv. 246, 65. Holds patera and cornucopiae.

S. Severus. M. II. 235, 47. Holds patera and cornucopiae. At her feet altar.

Domna. Imh. Geta. M. II. 236, 51. Holds patera and cornucopiae.

Domna. *Rev. Belge*, 1860, pl. II. 12. Holds rudder and cornucopiae.

Caracalla. Imh. Turreted, holding sceptre and cornucopiae. (K xxx.)

Head of Tyche, turreted:

Æ Ant. Pius. M. II. 234, 41. (K xxxi.)

M. Aurelius. M. S. iv. 244, 57.

- 13.—Paus. II. 19, 6. Τὰ δὲ ξόανα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, τὸ μὲν Ἑπειοῦ λέγουσιν ἔργον εἶναι, κ.τ.λ. Cf. 19, 7. Καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐς λύρας ποίησιν χελώνην ἡρκώς.

HERMES standing, right arm resting on trunk of tree, in left caduceus and chlamys.

Æ Sept. Severus. Imh. (K xxxii.) Florence. (K xxxiii.)

Apparently a copy of a statue.

- 14.—Paus. II. 20, 3. Πλησίον δὲ εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι λίθῳ Κλέοβις καὶ Βίτων, αὐτοὶ τε ἔλκοντες τὴν ἄμαξαν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἄγοντες τὴν μητέρα ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον.

CLEOBIS and BITON drawing their mother in a chariot.

Æ Domna. Copenhagen. (K xxxiv.)

Plautilla. *Arch. Z.* 1869, pl. 23, 9.

Dr. Friedländer has already (*Archäol. Zeit.* 1869, p. 98) brought this numismatic type into connexion with the words of Pausanias. But various treatments of the group may, of course, have been familiar to the die-sinker, and there is nothing to prove that he copied the relief seen by the Traveller.

- 15.—Paus. II. 21, 1. Ἔστι δὲ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ. Cf. 23, 4 below.

ASKLEPIOS standing, with usual attributes.

Æ Sept. Severus. Imh. (K xxxv.)

- 16.—Paus. II. 21, 9. Τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐστὶ μὲν οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ τροπαίου, τέχνη δὲ τὸ ἀγαλμα Πραξιτέλους· τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα παρὰ τῇ θεῷ τῆς παρθένου Χλωρίν ὀνομάζουσι.

LETO, right hand raised to shoulder, the left extended over small figure of CHLORIS.

Æ M. Aurelius. Imh. (K xxxvi.)

Sept. Severus. Imh. *Choix*, pl. II. 68. (K xxxvii.)

J. Domna. B. M. (K xxxviii.) Millingen, *Syll.* pl. III. 32.

Caracalla. *Rev. Belge*, 1860, pl. III. 1.

The same group in a temple.

Æ Anton. Pius. M. S. iv. 243, 48. Wiczay, xvii. 379.

This is a clear instance of the copying on coins of a statue, and very instructive. One coin figured (K xxxvii.) differently represents the action of Leto's right hand, which clearly, on the later coins, seems raised to a quiver on her shoulder. On this coin also the head of Leto is turned to the left, on the other coins to the right. But it is easy to see that these slight variations only arise from the fact that in the case of the first coin the artist made an attempt to represent the statue from the front, while in the case of the later coins it is depicted in profile. Combining our representations we can form a fairly complete notion of the statue of Praxiteles. Leto stood clad in a long chiton with diplois, holding some object (a torch?) in her left hand, and raising her right to her shoulder. The small figure of Chloris was close to her elbow, clad like the goddess herself.

- 17.—Paus. II. 22, 1. Ἀντικρὺν δὲ τοῦ μνήματος τῶν γυναικῶν  
Δήμητρος ἔστιν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Πελασγίδος. Cf. 18, 3.  
Δήμητρος Μυσίας ἱερὸν. 21, 4. Κεῖται τοῦ Πύρρου τὰ  
ὄσῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Δήμητρος.

DEMETER standing.

Æ Hadrian. M. S. iv. 241, 34. Wiczay, pl. xvii. 378. Holds sceptre and ears of corn.

Hadrian. M. S. iv. 241, 33. Holds sceptre and poppy head.

Ant. Pius. M. S. iv. 243, 49. Paris. Holds in both hands ears of corn and poppy heads.

L. Verus. M. S. iv. 245, 64. Vaillant. Holds in both hands ears of corn and poppy heads.

S. Severus. M. S. iv. 247, 77. Mus. Font. Holds in both hands ears of corn and poppy heads.

J. Domna. M. S. iv. 251, 104. Turin. Holds in both hands ears of corn and poppy heads. (K xxxix.)

Plautilla. M. S. iv. 253, 114. Holds in both hands ears of corn and poppy heads.

M. Aurelius. Imh. Holds in both hands ears of corn and poppy heads.

- 18.—Paus. II. 22, 5. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διοσκούρων ναός.

The DIOSCURI on horseback.

Æ S. Severus. Mion. S. iv. 248, 85. Wiczay, pl. xvii. 382.

- 19.—Paus. II. 22, 6. Πλησίον δὲ τῶν Ἀνάκτων Εἰληθυίας ἔστιν ἱερὸν ἀνάθημα Ἑλένης. (cf. 18, 3. ἱερὸν ἔστιν Εἰλειθυίας).

EILEITHUIA, holding in each hand a torch, one raised, one lowered.

Æ Commodus. M. S. iv. 246, 71. (Arig. ii. 31, 210.)

M. Aurelius. Berlin. Two such figures, each with quiver at back, an altar between them. (K XL.)

The reason for supposing this type to represent Eileithuia lies in the fact that there is a type almost identical at Aegium in Achaia, which reproduces a statue of Eileithuia accurately described by Pausanias (vii. 23, 5), *ταῖς χερσὶ τῇ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ ἐκτέταται, τῇ δὲ ἀνέχει δῖδα*. The quiver might seem more appropriate to Artemis; but she could scarcely be, like Eileithuia, duplicated.

20.—Paus. ii. 22, 7. Πέραν ἐστὶν Ἑκάτης ναὸς, Σκόπα δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔργον· τοῦτο μὲν λίθον, τὰ δ' ἀπαντικρὺ χαλκᾷ Ἑκάτης καὶ ταῦτα ἀγάλματα, τὸ μὲν Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Πολυκλείτου Ναυκύδης Μόθωνος.

HECATE triformis.

Æ Hadrian. Leake, *Eur. Gr.* p. 20.

Sabina. M. S. iv. 242, 41. (Mus. Font. pl. ii. 17.) Munich. (K xli.)

21.—Paus. ii. 22, 9. Ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ Κυλαράβου Καπανεῖα ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶ. Cf. 21, 3. Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ἰδρύσασθαι Σάλπιγγος ἱερὸν φασιν Ἠγέλεων.

ATHENE standing, holding patera, shield, and spear.

Æ Hadrian. M. S. iv. 240, 27.

Athene with Perseus. See Perseus.

22.—Paus. ii. 24, 3. Ἐπ' ἄκρα δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ Λαρίσῃ . . . . . καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ναὸς ἐστὶ θεᾶς ἄξιος. Cf. 24, 2. Τοῦ Δειραδιώτου δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἔχεται μὲν ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀξυδερκοῦς καλουμένης Διομήδους ἀνάθημα. 23, 5. Λέγουσι . . . . . ἄγαλμα κεῖσθαι παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἐκκομισθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου.

Archaic PALLADIUM.

Æ Anton. Fourth century. B. M.

Æ Venus. M. S. iv. 245, 60. Arig. iv. 50, 9.

Palladium in temple on the Larissa.

Æ Antoninus Pius. Imh. B. M. (K xlii.)

Sept. Severus. B. M.

Doimna. M. S. iv. 251, 100. Arig.

DIOMEDES advancing, holds sword and Palladium.

Æ Anton. Fourth century. B. M. Imh. (K xliii.)

Anton. Fourth century. B. M. At his feet swan.

Æ Anton. Pius. Imh. (K xlii.) M. S. iv. 244, 52, 53.

Diomedes, sword in hand, standing before statue of Pallas, on which he lays hands.

Æ Sept. Severus. Mus. Font. i. p. 66, 21.

Diomedes seated on altar, his leg bent under him, holds sword and Palladium.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. (K XLV.)

It would seem from the not very clear language of Pausanias, that there was a temple of Athene Oxyderkes on the slope of the Acropolis-hill, and another of Athene on the summit. In one of these temples would be probably the statue supposed to have been brought by Diomedes from Ilium. *A priori* one would naturally suppose this statue to have been in the temple first mentioned, said to have been dedicated by Diomedes. But the coins appear to prove that this was not the case; but that the Ilian Palladium was set up in the temple on the summit of the hill. For the archaic image of Pallas, which on some coins (K XLIII.) Diomedes carries, is identical in details with the image represented on other coins (K XLII.) as occupying the temple on the Acropolis. In form it is an ordinary archaic Palladium, representing the goddess as stiff and erect, holding a spear in her raised right hand, and a shield on her left arm. Below, the figure passes into a mere column.

23.—Paus. II. 23, 1. Ναός ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιῇ Διονύσου· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἶναι λέγουσιν ἐξ Εὐβοίας (ancient). Cf. 23, 7. Διονύσου ναὸς Κρησίου, and 24, 7.

DIONYSUS standing; holds kantharos and thyrsos.

Æ Hadrian. M. II. 234, 40. (K XLVI.)

Hadrian. M. S. IV. 241, 35. With panther.

Commodus. M. S. IV. 246, 63.

Caracalla. M. S. IV. 252, 107.

This representation of Dionysus is of a very unusual type. The god appears to be beardless, though this is not certain. He is enveloped in the folds of an ample himation, and holds an upright thyrsos in his left hand.

24.—Paus. II. 23, 4. Τὸ δ' ἐπιφανέστατον Ἀργείοις τῶν Ἀσκληπιείων ἄγαλμα ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχει καθήμενον Ἀσκληπιὸν λίθου λευκοῦ, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἕστηκεν Ὑγίεια· κάθονται δὲ καὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες τὰ ἀγάλματα, Ξερόφιλος καὶ Στράτων.

ASKLEPIOS seated on throne; in front of him, snake.

Æ Sept. Severus. B. M. (K XLVII.)

Domna. M. S. IV. 251, 103. Wiczaj, XVII. 387.

Valerian. M. S. IV. 255, 125.

HYGIEIA standing, her right hand extended over an altar, around which twines a snake; in her left, patera. Cf. Tyche above.

Æ Geta. Imh. M. S. IV. 253, 116. (K XLVIII.)

Xenophilus and Strato lived probably late in the third century B.C., if we may judge from a tablet bearing their names published by Ross, *Inscr. Ined.* i. No. 58, in which we find the forms Α and ο. There seems every probability that the coins reproduce their types of the Asklepios and Hygieia. Both are very unusual. The Asklepios is apparently a copy of the statue of Thrasymedes at Epidaurus, and is of thoroughly Pheidian type. The Hygieia is an interesting and remarkable type, differing, I think, from all known statues of the goddess. She is clad in a long chiton, and wears an overdress, of which the end hangs over her left arm.

25.—Paus. II. 23, 7. *Κατάγεων οἰκοδόμημα, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ ἦν ὁ χαλκοῦς θάλαμος, ὃν Ἀκρίσιός ποτε ἐπὶ φρουρᾷ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐποίησε.*

DANAE receiving the golden shower, seated on throne.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. (L XLIX.)

Although this is probably the only appearance of Danae on coins, the attribution is fairly certain. Danae's face is turned upwards; her bosom is bare, her extended hands grasp the ends of her garment. Parallel representations on vases and in wall paintings may be found in Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.*, II. p. 406.

26.—Paus. II. 24, 1. *Ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἔστι μὲν τῆς Ἀκραίας Ἡρας τὸ ἱερόν.*

Head of JUNO Lanuvina in goat-skin (?).

Æ Sept. Severus. Mus. Font. II. pl. v. 14.

27.—Paus. II. 24, 2. *Τὸ στάδιον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῷ Νεμείῳ Διὶ καὶ τὰ Ἡραῖα ἄγουσιν.*

Wreath of HERAEA. See also Nemea.

Æ Sept. Severus. Leake, Add. 157. *Arch. Z.* 1843, p. 151. (HPAIA, palm.)

Sept. Severus. Kenner, St. Florian, pl. III. 6. (HPAIA, shield.)

Domna. M. S. IV. 252, 106. HPEA.

Geta. M. S. IV. 254, 117. Arigoni (?)

28.—Paus. II. 24, 2. *Τῶν Αἰγύπτου παίδων . . . μνήμα. χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἐνταῦθα αἱ κεφαλαί.*

A DAUGHTER of DANAUS, holding in each hand a head.

Æ Ant. Pius. M. S. IV. 243, 46.

This description is scarcely to be relied on; the figure may be a Maenad, or Demeter, holding ears of corn in each hand.

29.—Paus. II. 25, 1. *Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης κείται ξόανον, πρὸς δὲ ἡλίου δυσμὰς Ἀρεως. εἶναι δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα Πολυνεῖκους λέγουσιν ἀναθήματα.*

ARES standing to right helmeted; holds in left hand, branch (?).

Æ Hadrian. Leake, *Eur.* p. 20.

Antoninus. M. S. iv. 242, 40. (Gotha.)

S. Severus. (L L.)

APHRODITE standing to left, in long drapery; with right hand drawing forward her veil; before her, dolphin.

Æ Ant. Pius. Verus. Imh. (L LL.)

The dolphin may refer to the river Charadrus which flowed close to the temple. The figure of Aphrodite is stiff and archaic, and closely draped.

### 30.—OTHER TYPES at Argos:

Isis standing, holds sistrum and vessel.

Æ Hadrian. Munich.

Mamaea. Imh.

Isis seated, suckling Horus (?)

Æ Hadrian. B. M. (L LIL.)

Female figure with wheel on hand (Nemesis?).

Æ Sep. Severus. M. S. iv. 248, 79/80.

Caracalla. Wicz. xvii. 386.

Female figure holding wheel on basis.

Æ Sep. Severus. Imh. (L LIII.) M. Font. II. 15.

Shrine; Herakles in it.

Æ S. Severus. Imh. M. S. iv. 249, 91.

Female figure seated to left, on rock; male figure approaching her with hand raised. (Phaedra and Hippolytus?)

Æ Hadrian. St Florian. (L LIV.)

Poet (Homer?) seated, a scroll in his hand.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 244, 55.

Verus. M. II. 235, 46. Imh. (L LV.)

Draped male figure holding by the throats two serpents.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. Imh. (L LVI.)

Terminal figure, male.

Æ Hadrian. Imh. Cf. Verus. B. M.

Temple key: Symbol  $\Theta$ .

Æ Anton. B. M. Imh. &c.

Head of Faustina the Elder, wearing Phrygian cap.

Æ M. Aur. Imh.

Head of Julia Domna, wearing Phrygian cap.

Æ S. Sev. Turin.

### EPIDAUROS.

- 1.—Paus. II. 26. Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἱερὰν μάλιστα εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ λόγῳ συμβέβηκε τοιῷδε . . . (Coronis) . . . ἐκτίθησι τὸν παιδα . . . ἐκκειμένῳ δὲ ἐδίδου μὲν οἱ γάλα μία τῶν

περὶ τὸ ὄρος ποιμαινομένων αἰγῶν, ἐφύλασσε δὲ ὁ κύων  
ὁ τοῦ αἰπολίου φρουρός . . . . Ἀρεσθάναν εὐρόντα ἐπι-  
θυμῆσαι τὸν παῖδα ἀνελέσθαι καὶ. κ.τ.λ.

SHEPHERD finding ASKLEPIOS suckled by a goat, among trees.

Æ Ant. Pius. Imh. (L i.) Panofka, *Asklepios*, &c. pl. i. 2.

Caracalla. Panofka, *l.c.* i. 1. Vienna. Müller, *D. M.* ii. 759.

Head of Asklepios.

R Æ Auton. B. M. (L ii.) Imh.

2.—Paus. II. 27, 2. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα . . .

πεποιήται ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ· μηνύει δὲ ἐπίγραμμα  
τὸν εἰργασμένον εἶναι Θρασυμήδην Ἀριγνώτου Πάριον·  
κάβηται δὲ ἐπὶ θρόνου βακτηρίαν κρατῶν, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν  
τῶν χειρῶν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἔχει τοῦ δράκοντος, καὶ οἱ καὶ  
κύων παρακατακείμενος πεποιήται.

ASKLEPIOS SEATED, with dog and snake.

At Auton. Fourth century. *Berlin. Bl.* 1866, pl. xxx. 3, &c. B. M.  
Munich. (L iii.) Imh. &c.

Æ Auton. Athens, 4431, B. (Dog behind seat.)

Hadrian. *Berlin. Bl.* 1870, p. 15, 9. (Dog behind seat.)

Ant. Pius. B. M. Imh. Leake, p. 51. (No dog.)

M. Aurel. Athens, No. 4431, b. Dog behind. (L iv.)

Asklepios as above, in temple.

Æ Ant. Pius. B. M. (L v.) *Mus. Pontana*, i. lii. 2. No dog.

Dog reclining.

Æ Auton. B. M. Imh.

Paus. II. 27, 6. Ἔστι μὲν Ἀσκληπιοῦ λουτρόν.

Cupping-vases and thymiaterion.

Æ Auton. B. M. Imh.

Cupping-vase on coins of Achaean league.

These coins, which have been repeatedly published, and are discussed in the histories of ancient sculpture, are generally allowed to repeat the statue by Thrasymedes. They agree with the words of Pausanias, even to the attitude of the dog, παρακατακείμενος. They thus furnish a strong argument that in other cases also we may expect to find on coins fairly exact copies of works of sculpture. For the connexion of the dog with the Epidaurian worship, see *Rev. Arch.* 1884, ii. pp. 78, 129, 217.

3.—Paus. II. 27, 6. Ἀντωνίνος . . . . ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Ὑγίειαν  
ναὸν καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπὶ κλησιν Αἰγυ-  
πτοῖσι. Cf. 27, 5. Ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἄλσους . . . . ἐστὶν  
. . . . ἄγαλμα Ἡπιόνης. 29, 1. Τέμενος δὲ ἐστὶν  
Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ ἀγάλματα ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς καὶ Ἡπιόνη.



γυναῖκα δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἑπιόνην Ἀσκληπιοῦ φασί. ταῦτά  
ἐστὶν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ λίθου Παρίου.

Standing figure of Asklepios.

Æ J. Maesa. Mion. II. 239, 72. *Mus. Farnese.*

HYGIEIA standing in round temple.

Æ Ant. Pius. M. S. IV. 265, 155. *M. Fontana*, p. 67, 2 and 3. Munich.  
(L VI.)

Hygieia or Epione standing, feeds serpent from patera, clad  
in long drapery.

Æ Anton. Fourth century. *M. Hunter*, xxvi. 12. B. M. (L VII.) Imh. &c.  
Ant. Pius. Mion. II. 239, 71. Holds sceptre and patera.

It is unfortunate that the coin which represents Hygieia in  
her temple is so indistinct that the details cannot be with  
certainty recovered. Her right hand appears to be extended,  
and to hold a patera; and a serpent is visible to left.

The figure which I have termed Hygieia or Epione occurs on  
early coins. Epione is the more likely attribution, as that deity  
was from early times acknowledged at Epidaurus as the wife of  
Asklepios, whereas Hygieia does not seem to have been there  
recognised publicly until the times of the Antonines.

4.—Paus. II. 27, 7. Ὅρος ὀνομαζόμενον Κυνόρτιον, Μαλεάτου  
δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων.

APOLLO Citharoedus.

Æ Anton. Copenhagen.

Head of Apollo, laur.

R Æ Anton. B. M. &c.

5.—Paus. II. 28, 1. Δράκοντες δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ ἕτερον γένος ἐς  
το ξανθότερον ῥέπον τῆς χοῶας ἱεροὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ  
νομίζονται.

SERPENT.

Æ Anton. B. M. Imh. *M. Hunter*, xxxvi. 13.  
Sev. Alexander. M. S. IV. 261, 157. D'Ennery.

6.—OTHER TYPES:

Poseidon naked, standing to left; holds in right, dolphin; in  
left trident.

Æ Caracalla. B. M. (L VIII.)

The figure is identical with that of the standing Poseidon on  
the coins of Corinth, which we have shown to be a copy of the  
colossus which stood in the harbour at Cenchreae.

#### AEGINA.

1.—Paus. II. 29, 6. Πλησίον δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα  
ὀρμίζονται ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης.

Semi-circular PORT, within it, ship; above, hexastyle temple or colonnade, in the midst of it a door, up to which steps lead.

Æ J. Domna. Sestini, *M. Fontana*, p. 49, 4. Imh. (L i.)

APHRODITE draped, holds branch and apple (Venus Victrix).

Æ Plantilla. Sestini, *M. Fontana*, p. 50, No. 7.

Tortoise.

Æ Auton. B. M. &c.

There still exist at Aegina remains of two harbours (Leake, *Morea*, II. 436), both of which are inclosed by two moles, and either of which would correspond to the representation on the coin. Pausanias mentions both, one as the general harbour, near which was the temple of Aphrodite, the other as the secret harbour, near which was a large theatre. On the coin the building in the background looks less like a temple than a theatre, market, or wharf.

2.—Paus. II. 29, 6. Ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ Αἰάκειον καλούμενον.

ÆACUS seated as judge of the dead.

Æ Imperial of *uncertain city*.

Friedländer, *Arch. Z.* 1871, p. 79.

3.—Paus. II. 30, 1. Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν δὴ ξόανον γυμνὸν ἐστὶ τέχνης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου.

Archaic nude figure of APOLLO right, holds bow and branch.

Æ Auton. B. M. (L II.)

In this case the coins furnish us with a copy of an early work of Aeginetan art. It is distinctive that the legs are represented one in advance of the other: and the anatomy seems to be clearly marked.

4.—Paus. II. 30, 2. Θεῶν δὲ Αἰγινήται τιμῶσιν Ἐκάτην μάλιστα . . . . . ξόανον δὲ ἔργον Μύρωνος, ὁμοίως ἐν πρόσωπόν τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα.

HECATE with three bodies.

Æ Sept. Severus. *Arch. Z.* 1843, pl. ix. 6. Imh. (L III.)

Plantilla. *St. Florian*, pl. II. 7. B. M.

5.—Paus. II. 30, 3. Πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς ἰοῦσίν ἐστιν Ἀφαίας ἱερόν.

APHAIA (Britomartis) standing by Zeus; holds arrow and torch.

Æ Caracalla. Sestini, *Mus. Fontana*, pl. II. 7.

This engraving and the description of Sestini are not to be trusted implicitly, especially as Aphaia is represented with a turreted crown, and carries an arrow in a very unusual way.

- 6.—Paus. II. 30, 4. Τὸ δὲ Πανελλήνιον, ὅτι μὴ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἄλλο τὸ ὄρος ἀξιόλογον εἶχεν οὐδέν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν λέγουσιν Αἰακὸν ποιῆσαι τῷ Δί.

ZEUS standing by Aphaia, holds thunderbolt and sceptre.

Æ Caracalla. *l.c.*

Zeus striding, holding eagle and thunderbolt.

Æ Sept. Severus. M. S. III. 600, 52.

Domna. B. M. (L IV.)

Caracalla. Mion. II. 148, 38.

- 7.—OTHER TYPES at Aegina :

Hermes carrying ram, facing.

Sept. Sev. Athens. (L V.)

Hermes carrying ram to right.

Plautilla. Vienna. (L VI.)

Small temple, tetrastyle, prostyle.

Sept. Sev. Munich. (L VII.)

Demeter.

Pallas. (The temple of Athene is mentioned by Herodotus, but not by Pausanias.)

Nike.

Two female figures standing.

M. S. III. 601, 56.

Nemesis (?) with cornucopiae.

Poseidon standing.

Bearded terminal figure.

Plautilla. B. M. (L VIII.)

Prow of ship.

B. M.

The type of Hermes carrying a ram (L V. VI.) must almost certainly be a copy of some work of Aeginetan art, such as the statue of the same subject by Onatas, preserved at Olympia: the Olympian statue, however, wore a chlamys and a chiton, whereas the figure on the coins is altogether naked, like that on the coins of Tanagra, which represents the Hermes Criophorus of Calamis. The stretching of arms and legs on the coin VI. is quite characteristic of Aeginetan art.

#### TROEZEN.

- 1.—Paus. II. 30, 6. 'Αθηνᾶν τε σέβουσι Πολιάδα καὶ Σθενιάδα ὀνομάζοντες τὴν αὐτὴν, καὶ Ποσειδῶνα Βασιλέα ἐπικλησιν' καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμα αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπίσημα ἔχει τρίαῖναν καὶ 'Αθηνᾶς πρόσωπον.

Coin, *obv.* head of ATHENE bound with taenia only ; *rev.* trident.

At Auton. B. M. &c. (M I. II.)

Æ with helmeted head of Pallas. B. M.

The identification of the head on the figured coins as Athene may be disputed, and is doubted by Imhoof. But Pausanias in his statement as to the coins of Troezen must be repeating matter of common notoriety ; and he must refer to the coins of the autonomous series, before one side was occupied by the head of an emperor. The head on the silver, M I. II., is so bold and strong that it has been taken for that of Apollo ; but in some cases it wears an earring, which seems conclusive as to its feminine character. And, if it be feminine, it is more likely, even apart from Pausanias' express statement, to belong to Athene, rather than any other goddess. The absence of the helmet is not unusual in case of early representations of Athene.

2.—Cf. 32, 5. 'Εν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Σθευιάδος καλουμένης ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς. αὐτὸ δὲ εἰργάσατο τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ξόανον Κάλλων Αἰγινήτης.

CITADEL surmounted by temple (tetrastyle).

Æ Commodus. Arigoni iv. 51, 2. Turin. (M III.)

Sept. Severus. B. M. On either side olive and cypress. (M IV.)

Domna. M. S. iv. 271, 208. On either side olive and cypress.

The olive is spoken of by Pausanias, 31, 10 ; laurel, 31, 8 ; myrtle, 32, 3 : all sacred trees with histories.

Athene (archaic) resembling a Palladium.

Æ Commodus. B. M. (M v.)

This figure of Pallas may be described in the very words already used in describing that at Cleonae, which we supposed to be copied from the work of Dipoenus and Scyllis. This is evidence, so far as it goes, that Callon adhered to the same general scheme as the Cretan artists ; although, of course, we must not press the argument, as the die-sinkers may have intended merely to portray the general type of an archaic Athene, as in A XI.

3.—Paus. II. 31, 1. 'Εν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Τροιζηνίων ναὸς καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀρτεμίδος ἐστὶ Σωτείρας. Cf. 30, 7. Οὗτος (Saron) τῇ Σαρωνίδι τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀρτεμίδι ὠκοδόμησεν. 31, 4. Πλησίον δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου Λυκείας ναὸν Ἀρτεμίδος ἐποίησεν Ἰππόλυτος.

ARTEMIS as a huntress.

Æ Sept. Severus. Imh. Holds torch and bow, dog by her pursuing stag. (M VI.)

Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 268, 200. Holds torch, dog by her, pursuing stag.

Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 201. Draws arrow from quiver.

Carnacalla. Arig. i. 115, 185. Holds arrow and bow, dog pursuing stag.

- 4.—Paus. II. 31, 6. Τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Θεαρίου κατασκευάσαι μὲν Πιπθία ἔφασαν. Cf. 32, 2. Ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐπιβατηρίου, Διομήδους ἀνάθημα.

APOLLO holding an arrow and leaning on a tripod, around which is twined a serpent.

Æ Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 268, 199.

- 5.—Paus. II. 31, 6. Τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμῶνος τούτου καὶ τὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ξόανά ἐστι.

Archaic figures of the DIOSCURI facing, altar between them.

Æ Commodus. Imh. (M VII.)

This coin-type is valuable as furnishing evidence—probably the only extant evidence—of the style and date of the artist Hermon of Troezen. The Dioscuri stand naked, with long hair, both arms extended before them, not unlike, in attitude, to the Apollo of Canachus, but more primitive. Their proportions seem to be decidedly slight.

- 6.—Paus. II. 31, 10. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Σωτήρος.

ZEUS standing, holds eagle and sceptre.

Æ Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 268, 198. Vaillant.

- 7.—Paus. II. 32, 1. Ἴππολύτῳ δὲ τῷ Θησέως τέμενός τε ἐπιφανέστατον ἀνείται, καὶ ναὸς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον.

HIPPOLYTUS as a hunter, on foot, holding spear, and leaning on tree; dog beside him.

Æ Commodus. Fox, *Uned. Coins*, ix. 100; Leake, *Eur. Gr.* add. 165. (M VIII.)

Hippolytus leading a horse, accompanied by a dog.

Æ Commodus. M. S. iv. 268, 195. Arigoni, II. 32, 228.

Hippolytus with spear and sword before Phaedra (or her nurse), who approaches him in attitude of supplication.

Æ Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 269, 204. Milling. 1831, pl. iv. 22 (who regards the pair as Theseus and Aethra).

- 8.—Paus. II. 32, 3. Καὶ ναὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀφροδίτης Κατασκοπίας. Cf. 32, 6. Ναὸν . . . Ἀφροδίτης Ἀκραίας. 32, 7. Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Νυμφίας.

APHRODITE standing, holds apple in left hand, and lifts her veil with right.

Æ Commodus. Imh. (M IX.)

Domna. M. S. iv. 270, 209. Theup.

This type, the idea of which is taken from statues of Roman times, perhaps that of Arcesilaus, seems to represent Aphrodite Nymphia.

- 9.—Paus. II. 32, 4. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησε μὲν Τιμόθεος, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ οὐκ Ἀσκληπιὸν ἀλλὰ εἰκόνα Ἴηπολύτου φασὶν εἶναι.

ASKLEPIOS standing at altar, snake-entwined staff in left hand.  
Æ Commodus. M. S. IV. 263, 196. *Arg.* II. 18, 227.

The figure of Asklepios seems, so far as can be judged from the unsatisfactory engraving, to be of the ordinary conventional type; and, therefore, to offer no explanation of Pausanias' curious statement.

- 10.—Paus. II. 32, 4. Καὶ οἰκίαν ἰδὼν οἶδα Ἴηπολύτου· πρὸ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν Ἡράκλειος καλουμένη κρήνη.

FOUNTAIN, a pillar with lion sitting thereon, water flowing into basin from between his feet.

Æ Commodus. M. Athens, 4475.8. (M x.)

- 11.—Paus. II. 32, 7. Πέτρα Θησέως ὀνομαζομένη, μεταβαλοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ ὄνομα ἀνελομένου Θησέως ὑπ' αὐτῇ κρηπίδας τὰς Ἀργεῶς καὶ ξίφος. Cf. 31, 1. Θησεὺς . . . ἥνίκα Ἀστερίωνα τὸν Μίνω καταγωνισάμενος ἀνέστρεψεν.

THESEUS, naked, lifting the rock.

Æ Commodus. B. M. (M xi.)

Sept. Severus. M. S. IV. 269, 205. *Wiczay*, xxxi. 698.

Geta. B. M.

Philippus, Jun. B. M.

The identity of this type through several reigns may indicate for it an origin in sculpture.

Theseus slaying the Minotaur.

Æ Commodus. M. II. 242, 87. Turin.

- 12.—OTHER TYPES:

Tyche at altar: holds patera and cornucopiae.

Æ Commodus. B. M. (M xii.)

#### METHANA.

- 1.—Paus. II. 34, 1. Τοῦ δὲ πολίσματος τριάκοντά πον στάδια ἀπέχει λουτρά θερμά. φασὶ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δημητρίου Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντος, τότε πρῶτον τὸ ὕδωρ φανῆναι.

Head of HEPHAESTUS in pileus.

Æ Anton. Third century. B. M. *Inh.*

The connexion of Hephaestus with volcanic phenomena such as that recorded in the text is well known.

## OTHER TYPES:

Artemis to left, hunting.

Geta. B. M. (M I.)

Artemis about to discharge an arrow.

Sept. Sev. B. M. (M II.)

Poseidon.

Pallas standing, holds Victory and sceptre; at her feet, altar.

M. Aurel. Imh. (M III.)

Zeus.

Tyche.

Aphrodite, facing, naked to waist, holds tresses with both hands.

Caracalla. Paris. (M IV.)

N.B.—It is curious that Isis was worshipped at Methana, and appears on coins of Mothone; Artemis was worshipped at Mothone, and appears commonly on coins of Methana.

## HERMIONE.

- 1.—Paus. II. 34, 10. Ἔστι δέ σφισι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἱερὰ αὐτόθι, Ποσειδῶνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς τῇ ἀρχῇ, προελθοῦσι δέ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. 35, 1. Καὶ Ποσειδῶν χαλκοῦς τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἔχων ἐπὶ δελφίνος.

POSEIDON standing, holds trident, his foot on a dolphin.

Æ J. Domna. M. S. IV. 262, 159, 160. (M. Fontana, 69, 2, 3.)

- 2.—Paus. II. 34, 11. Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς ἔστιν ἐπὶ κλησιν Ποντίας καὶ Λιμενίας τῆς αὐτῆς, ἄγαλμα δὲ λευκοῦ λίθου, μέγθει τε μέγα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ θεᾶς ἄξιον. καὶ ναὸς ἕτερός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης.

APHRODITE standing, with Eros.

Æ Caracalla. M. S. IV. 263, 162. M. Fontana, 68, 1.

- 3.—Paus. II. 35, 1. Πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ Διονύσου ναὸς Μελαίγιδος.

DIONYSUS standing, holds kantharos and sceptre.

Æ Plautilla. B. M. Dionysus naked.

Geta. B. M. Dionysus draped. (M I.)

- 4.—Paus. II. 35, 3. Τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Τύχης νεώτατον μὲν λέγουσιν Ἑρμιονεῖς τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν εἶναι, λίθου δὲ Παρίου κολοσσὸς ἔστηκεν.

TYCHE standing, holds rudder and cornucopiae.

Æ Plautilla. B. M. (M II.) Imh. M. S. IV. 263, 167.

Tyche standing, holding patera and cornucopiae, at an altar.

Æ Plautilla. M. S. IV. 264, 168. (Arigoni.)

Tyche (?) seated, crowned by male figure, who holds lance.

Æ Caracalla. M. S. iv. 262, 161. Copenhagen.

Plautilla. M. S. iv. 263, 165. *Sest. Molt. med. gr.* xii. 18.

5.—Paus. II. 35, 4. Τὸ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον ἱερὸν  
Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πριωνός. Cf. also 35, 6, 8, 11.

Head of DEMETER crowned with corn.

Æ Anton. B. M.

Also ears of corn, and torch.

6.—Paus. II. 35, 6. Τοῖς δὲ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπουσιν ἔπονται  
τελείαν ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῦν ἄγοντες διειλημμένην δεσμοῖς τε  
καὶ ὑβρίζουσιν ἐτι ὑπὸ ἀγριότητος, κ.τ.λ. (Description  
of the Chthonia.)

Cow led by attendant with a rope.

Æ Plautilla. B. M. (M III.)

OTHER TYPES:

Hermes standing.

Æ J. Domna. Mion. II. 239, 74.

Zeus Nikephoros?

Æ Plautilla. M. S. iv. 263, 163.

Cybele.

Æ Plautilla.

#### ASINE.

1.—Paus. II. 36, 5. Πυθαέως τε Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπέλιπον το  
ἱερὸν, καὶ νῦν ἐτι δῆλόν ἐστι.

APOLLO PYTHAEUS clad in himation, a laurel twig in his right  
hand, leaning on pillar.

Æ Sept. Severus. Munich. (M I.)

Plautilla. Mion. II. 224, 75.

2.—OTHER TYPES:

Asklepios.

Snake.

Hermes (?).

Draped female figure?

Fortuna, holds rudder and cornucopiae.

Æ Imh. (M II.)

#### LERNA and NAUPLIA, Coins of Argos.

1.—Paus. II. 37, 2. Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ λίθου.  
Cf. II. 19, 6; 19, 7; 20, 8; 23, 8; 25, 1; 38, 1.

APHRODITE standing, holds in right hand a fold of her garment;  
before her, a dolphin.

Æ Anton. Pius. Imh.

L. Verus. Imh. (L LI.) (Above cited under Argos.)



- 2.—Paus. II. 37, 4. Τῆς δὲ Ἀμυμώνης πέφυκεν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ  
πλάτανος· ὑπὸ ταύτῃ τὴν ὕδραν τραφῆναι τῇ πλατάνῳ  
φασίν, κ.τ.λ.

HERAKLES slaying the Lernaean hydra.

Æ Hadrian. Imh. (M I.)

- 3.—Paus. II. 38, 2. Οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῆς (of Nauplia)  
Ναύπλιος Ποσειδῶνος λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀμυμώνης εἶναι  
... καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ λιμένες εἰσὶν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ.  
Cf. above, also 37, 1.

AMYMONE pursued by Poseidon.

Æ Anton. Pius. Imh. (M II.) *Choix*, pl. II. 6. Overbeck, *Poseidon*, vi. 32.

## THE PERGAMENE FRIEZE.

(Concluded from Vol. iv. p. 135.)

IN the reconstruction of the Pergamene frieze from the fragments which have come to the Berlin Museum much progress has been recently made, and it is now possible to follow—in respect of some of the slabs—a tolerably clear order to which certain mechanical or external signs in the stones themselves would appear to point. And this is a clue more helpful than that which the affinity of style or the natural relations of the figures can afford. It is partly on such grounds as these that the slab on which Dionysos appears has been assigned to the south-east corner of the staircase, and it has been conjectured<sup>1</sup> that near to this, perhaps immediately on its right, was one on which was seen the form of a winged god whose left arm holds a shield, and whose right arm, wielding a sword, is swung over his head against a fallen antagonist.

The giant has sunk on his knee, and is raising in supplication or defence his left arm that dimly appears through the shaggy fell that envelopes it. A right hand grasping a stone, the fragments of a knee just lifted from the ground, are placed beneath, and probably belong to him. The drapery of the god is arranged for dramatic effect, as the exomis leaves the right side bare, so that the action gains force and clearness of expression. The composition can make no claim to originality, its forms are highly sculpturesque, and had long been a tradition of sculpture: a metope on the east front of the Parthenon (*Michaelis*, No. xiii.), on which a scene from the gigantomachy is represented, is the earliest source to which we can directly trace this motive. The grouping of the two figures is clear and simple; in a single detail, in the rendering of the sword-hilt

<sup>1</sup> A more recent discovery makes this improbable.

of the god, we can illustrate the leaning of the Pergamene school to the picturesque. However we are to name the god, his features are remarkable, for his wild hair, deep eye-sockets, and swollen forehead are the traits that properly belong to his antagonists, being here presented somewhat more faintly, but giving an impression very different from that of the impassive reserve of the Olympians.

It is plain that we see here a god of the wilder elements, a god of the winds with wings lightly and beautifully wrought at his shoulders, who, though in some ways akin to the forces of the giant-world,<sup>1</sup> was by a necessity of the myth regarded as warring against the evil powers of his own domain. The features the wings and the warlike action speak decisively of Boreas who is seen also, according to the most probable interpretation, on the crater of Nikosthenes in the British Museum with wings attached to his side, combating with the gods against the giants. Once more the Pergamene sculptor is using inherited forms: for the type of Boreas had appeared on vases that belong or go back to the fifth century,<sup>2</sup> had appeared on the bronze-relief brought from Rhodes, showing the capture of Oreithyia, a work of the Alexandrine period, but probably earlier than the altar-frieze; and the type survives in a later age, for instance, on a Roman sarcophagus,<sup>3</sup> where two youths are seen at the corners personifying the winds. In stating the relation between the figure of Boreas and the other personages of the scene, we can find in mythology no certain clue to guide us, for he has no necessary and well-marked affinities with other deities: and as early probably as the sixth century he enjoyed an independent cult in various localities; in Arcadia, a land where the particular legend of the gigantomachy, together with a certain simple nature-worship had taken root, we hear of the sacred precincts and cult of Boreas near Megalopolis.<sup>4</sup> Now a

<sup>1</sup> Such affinity may explain the representation of Boreas on the chest of Cypselus as serpent-footed, for the serpent is the symbol of the powers of the nether world. Compare with this the vase from Palermo (*Arch. Zeit.* 1872, taf. 45), where a winged youth with sword in hand, following a maiden, appears to be Boreas; *vide* Lucian, *Tim.*

54, τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνατείνας, τιτανῶδες βλέπων, αὐτοβορέας.

<sup>2</sup> Jahn, *Vasensammlung*, No. 376; Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, iii. 152.

<sup>3</sup> *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1854, pl. 8, n.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 8, 36, 6.

common store of myth brings Pergamon into contact with Arcadia. But it would be hazardous thus to decide whence originated the religious idea, if there was any, by which the Pergamene sculptor was moved who gave to Boreas this independent place in the representation. At his right we see the mutilated form of a goddess rushing towards the right on a giant whose back is shown us—whose neck seems bent forward, and arm uplifted to shield his head or in sign of submission. As the goddess presents no characteristic mark, she must remain unknown; we might suggest that she is Thyia, though the proof that Thyia is a wind-goddess<sup>1</sup> is by no means complete.

There is far less doubt attaching to the character of the groups that are placed in the Museum in juxtaposition to the last. On each side of a corner we see deities combating with giants, of whom some are apparently powers of the water. The action, so far as it is preserved in this part of the monument, is broken up into four groups, one more manifold than another, but each with a certain completeness in itself. The fragments are sufficient to disclose the scene on the left of the corner. A goddess is brandishing a torch against a naked giant who is winged, but otherwise of human figure, and who is threatening her with his right arm. Beneath him is a fallen comrade, who in expression is one of the most remarkable in the whole brotherhood, for in the face which is sinking downward over his arm to the earth, there is some trace of the beauty of the more youthful type, and the features resemble those of him who has fallen before Athene—but the beauty is distorted and the countenance disfigured with the rage and hatred that is expressed very powerfully in the corners of the mouth, and in the swollen forehead and eyebrow.<sup>2</sup> The serpent-nature is not yet dead in him; as one coil is threatening an enemy on the left.<sup>3</sup>

In the person of the giant who stands above him, slightly

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Paus. x. vi. 4; Herod. 7, 178; Preller, *Griech. Myth.* 2, 150.

<sup>2</sup> Trendelenburg compares the head of the Ludovisi Medusa; the structure of the heads, the cast of features is to some extent the same, but the expression of the Ludovisi work is of an altogether different sentiment.

<sup>3</sup> Claudian's description (*Gigantom.* 89) may have been borrowed from such a scene.

Ille viro toto moriens, serpentibus  
imis

Vivit adhuc stridore ferox et parte  
rebelli

Victorem post fata petit.

retreating, but threatening his approaching enemy with a weapon (probably a stone) in his right hand, there are hints that speak of his nature; at the outer edge of his wings appears a prickly growth, and something of the same on his ears: two small horns rise above his forehead, and by these marks the sculptor has personified the force of water or the sea-storms. It has already been mentioned that such personifications can be illustrated by Tzetzes' list of names, and on many other monuments besides<sup>1</sup> the Pergamene, the giants' forms or parts of their forms disclose the same thought; on a vase from Volci, now in the British Museum, the work of a time when the distinction between Typhon and the giants was disappearing, a fishy growth is seen on his snake-limbs.

Whoever the goddess may be who is confronting him, the idea of the group is plainly the contest of natural forces: for the goddess herself is brandishing a torch, the natural weapon of Hekate and her company, and is therefore one of the powers of the nether world, who play a proper part in the myth as the beneficent deities of fertility. But is she one of the chief figures in this circle of divinities, or a subordinate minister only? Her form and her position in the frieze can partly decide. Her finely-shaped limbs are ample, and in her movement, as she sways the torch in her right hand, there is confident power but no violence. And in the expression of her face there is a striking reserve and purity; her forehead is encircled with a stephane, and the hair falls from a knot luxuriantly upon her shoulders. The bracelet on her right wrist is one among many marks of the elaborate elegance of the work—an elegance which appears also in the soft rendering of the silken drapery. Her main garment is a single chiton that falls to her feet, its flowing lines are broken and its weight supported by a mantle that passes over her shoulders, and is bound round beneath her breasts for a girdle. The quality of the stuff is very distinctly shown in the delicate lines that appear within the main folds which the movement produces in the drapery. The treatment is dramatic, in accordance with the older tradition derived from

<sup>1</sup> M. d. I. v. 12, the figure of a snake-footed giant, with fins about his waist. Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythologie*, p. 395. Compare also a relief from the

theatre of Catania. The later ideal of Triton recalls many features of the Pergamene giants

the style of the fifth century, and at the same time naturalistic, in accordance with the style of the later Greek art. Throughout all parts of the frieze, we see in the rendering of the drapery these two principles combined. Nor is there anything very distinctive in its arrangement upon the person of the goddess in Group A; it is rather the richness and detail that is remarkable. Now the character of the face, the ornaments around the head and wrists, the torch which she carries, the rich drapery<sup>1</sup>—all these are proper to Demeter or Proserpine, between whom the works of later art find difficulty in distinguishing. Either the mother or daughter may be represented by the figure which we are considering:<sup>2</sup> for if they were brought into the action at all, they must have been in the neighbourhood of Hekate and Artemis, to whom they are closely related in earlier, and still more in later mythology. Now the figure of Hekate is the centre of eleven frieze-slabs which decorate this corner. Of the goddesses in her company one is unmistakably Artemis, and there are but two others that come into question—the one that we are considering (A), and her neighbour (B),<sup>3</sup> both placed on the left of the corner, in immediate vicinity to Hekate who is on the right. That these are not lesser goddesses subordinate to Hekate, the elaborateness of the work, the large treatment of their forms, their position on the frieze, would seem to testify. Might they be regarded as certain symbolical<sup>4</sup> figures proper to the lower world? But not only are all the ordinary marks of such beings wanting here, but it would also be surprising if the less necessary and less dramatic personages were presented, and the great goddesses were absent from this company.

By elimination we are brought to conclude that no other of the Olympians belong to this place but Demeter and Proserpine.

<sup>1</sup> This would seem to be an essential mark both of the mother and daughter, except on some sarcophagi showing the rape of Proserpine, when her body is half uncovered. *Vide* Claudian's poetical embellishments of Proserpine's dress.—*Rapt. Pros.* 41—54.

<sup>2</sup> Trendelenburg would see in these two figures the Genetylides, but we know very little of their characteristics,

nor are his arguments very satisfactory.

<sup>3</sup> The letters are those attached to the figures in the *Beschreibung der pergamentischen Bildwerke*.

<sup>4</sup> Apollodorus (i. 6) mentions the Moerae among the combatants, and they may have been seen on our frieze; but the goddess (A) who is armed with the torch, or (B) who is followed by the hound, cannot at least be one of them.

According to an opinion expressed by Stark,<sup>1</sup> the presence of Demeter in the combat is unknown, and because of her close connection with Gaea would be unsuitable. But this theory, however natural it may seem, is disproved almost conclusively by the instance of the Louvre amphora and its group of deities, among whom the goddess wielding a torch and sceptre, and crowned with vine-leaves, and wearing a stephane like figure *A*, can scarcely be other than Demeter.<sup>2</sup> No doubt the identity of Demeter with the earth is an ancient conception, by which the myths that attach to her can be explained; and this conception is clearly expressed in Euripides,<sup>3</sup> and carried still further by a late writer,<sup>4</sup> who mentioned Ceres as the mother of the giants and as prompting them to rebellion. But as the mother of Persephone, as a goddess of the nether world, as Demeter Thesmophoros, whose cult was so closely fostered by the mysteries, she has become detached from Gaea, as Apollo has become detached from Helios, in spite of the common underlying idea.

The character of Gaea is mainly physical, and she belongs to an older cycle of theology; the personality of Demeter is more vivid, the part she plays in the drama of mythology more distinct, and so close are her relations in legend and in cult with the rest of Olympians, that her participation in the action of the frieze is not surprising. The same objections that Stark urges might be urged against Hera, yet in some accounts and in some representations of the battle Hera appears. In fact, in face of the magnitude of the work and the multitude of the figures required, the Pergamene sculptors could not afford to forego any part of their material, and they might bring many personages into the scene, with whom the ordinary myth did not deal.

If the suggestion that figure *A* is Demeter be correct, one may explain the absence of the veil as due to the necessities of the action, and that she confronts a giant of the sea may remind us of the tradition in Pausanias<sup>5</sup> that connects Demeter

<sup>1</sup> *Gigantomachie auf antiken reliefs.*

<sup>2</sup> This is M. Ravaissou's explanation. *Monuments grecs*, 1875.

<sup>3</sup> *Bacch.* 275:—

τὰ πρῶτ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, Δημήτηρ θεὰ,  
γῆ δ' ἐστὶ.

<sup>4</sup> *Myth. Vatic.* i. fab. 2. The whole account is confused mythology.

<sup>5</sup> *PAUS.* 8, 25, 42.

with Poseidon. It may further be asked, in what character is the goddess doing battle with the giants? For at this stage in the development of the myth some moral or physical idea was probably present to the minds of the artists who treated it. As Thesmophoros, she might be maintaining the law and order of the Olympian régime, but her companionship with Hekate, the torch which she bears as her weapon and emblem, show her rather as one of the goddesses of the lower world, whose realm is endangered by the uprising of the giant powers of the sea. What special tradition of artistic form the sculptor was here following is not easy to decide. The accepted ideal of Demeter is probably the creation of Praxiteles; but one cannot discover in the work before us any marks of Praxitelean style: the face in some of its forms is peculiar: its contour is full and large, the throat is comparatively short, and the lips are hardly so protruding as we see them in the heads of many other of the goddesses.

On the next slab (*B*)<sup>1</sup>, a goddess who resembles in her ample drapery the former goddess is hurrying forward to give the death-stroke to a giant who has sunk helplessly before her. She appears to be clutching him by the hair, and to be wresting his whole body backwards in order to plunge her weapon into his breast. This would seem to be a sword, as the fragment of a female hand holding a sword-hilt seems to fit aptly to this place. Her foot is bearing down upon his thigh, and the action of the foot and the hand is a very common arrangement in earlier and later works,<sup>2</sup> especially in representations of this subject. If there is reason for naming the goddess in figure *A*, Demeter, then the goddess who comes between her and Hekate can be none other than Persephone, whose relations with Hekate are so intimate. The mere appropriateness of arrangement could not tell us which of the two on slabs *A* and *B* is the daughter: but, assuming that the two goddesses were brought into this part of the frieze, I think that slab *B*, more probably than slab *A* contains the figure of Proserpine. For though little difference can be discerned in the size and fulness of the limbs, yet in the second figure there is less sedateness in the

<sup>1</sup> This is proved to be a corner slab by the marks of the mechanical connection between *B* and *C*.

<sup>2</sup> It is seen on the peplos of the Dresden Pallas; the instances from coins are fairly numerous.



drapery, and more violence in the action than in the first; the mantle in large folds streams behind her, and her right shoulder and part of her right side and chest are left bare, this freer and looser system of drapery being often used to distinguish the daughter from the mother. Again she is assisted by the hound who is fastening upon the serpent limb of the giant: the hound is the animal sacred to Hekate, and thus more appropriate to Persephone, who may, so to speak, be regarded as her double, than to Demeter. Lastly, if, as seems almost certain, she is here armed with the sword, we can illustrate this once more from the vase of the Louvre, where the figure for whom the rich dress and vine-crown and vicinity to Demeter recommend the name of Persephone is wielding a sword against an enemy whom she is clutching by the hair and attacking so as to recall the action of the Pergamene goddess. If this then is Persephone, she is combating a giant who belongs to the same element as the enemy of Demeter. His lower limbs are best preserved, and on the serpent-limb which the hound is attacking, is seen a scaly growth which speaks of his origin from the sea. His upper parts are in a very fragmentary condition, but have been skilfully reconstructed. And it can now be seen that his right arm is stretched forward so as to bring his right hand a little above his head, perhaps to show submission or to check the sword, while his left arm is stretched behind him, and endeavouring to thrust away the hound.<sup>1</sup> The fragment of the head that is preserved with the hair and ear proves that his countenance was turned away from her. Between Group *A* and Group *B* there is a striking break in the continuity of the composition, as the goddesses turn their backs on each other and pass in opposite directions to the fight. Does such arrangement touch on the old tradition of single combats? This explanation would clash with the purpose of the whole frieze, in which by more or less subtle devices the single combat is joined with the whole. The intention is rather to connect in a striking and visible way the groups on each side of the corner, which are plainly connected in idea.<sup>2</sup> Somewhere in this company must have appeared the

<sup>1</sup> The ingenuity of this arrangement, which thus presents the greater part of his back *en face*, is noted by Trendelenburg, *Die Gigantomachie des per-*

*gamenischen Altars*, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> The same principle of composition is seen on the Parthenon frieze.

figure of Asterie, the mother of Hekate, whose presence is attested by an inscription. But no surviving fragment gives us any clue, nor could we say precisely what the attributes are by which we could know Asterie, whose name proclaims her to be one of the powers of light, but who rarely, if ever, has been the theme of art.

There is no group in the whole frieze which for mythologic interest and workmanship deserves more attention than Group C. The triple-shaped Hekate is here in dangerous conflict with one of the most striking of the giants. Her back is turned to the spectator, but her outside head as well as her middle head is seen in profile: of the farthest head only the back part is seen as though her third form were intended to be facing some other combatant. Each of her three right hands has its special weapon—the one holding a torch—the others a spear and a sword; of her left arms only two are seen, upon one is her shield, in the hand of the other is the hilt of the sheath. Facing her, and raising a rock over his head<sup>1</sup> against her, is a bearded giant whose serpent-thigh is seized by her hound, while the head of the reptile is clutching fiercely at the shield-rim. The dexterity is remarkable with which all the various elements are gathered into a concentrated whole—and the skill shown in the composition is equalled by the skill in the details: the serpent's head is a masterpiece for the expression of animal rage, shown chiefly in the prominent eye, which gives to this and to many of the reptile heads on the frieze the distinctness of a separate type. Perhaps there is no group on the frieze which contains an idea so difficult to render as that which is the leading idea here; for the problem of showing on a frieze relief a three-bodied shape in clear outlines, and in free dramatic movement is almost hopeless. The figure of the triple Geryon<sup>2</sup> caused the same perplexity to the earlier vase-painters, who represented him at first as of three distinct forms, failing to give to them any unity more than a merely external one; the bodies act and are posed independently each of the other. In the more advanced art, we find him triple-formed only so far as the waist. But in such combinations the task of the painter was simpler than that of

<sup>1</sup> The lower arms are lost, but there are fragments of hands grasping a large stone, placed above his head, and very

probably belonging to him.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Duc de Luynes, *Descr. de Vases peints*, pl. 8.

the sculptor; and the sculptor himself was freer when the goddess was to be wrought for temple-worship, or as a motionless object. In the triple image of Hekate by Alcamenes, who probably arranged the three forms back to back,<sup>1</sup> there was nothing strikingly incongruous.

But if one tries to conceive such an image in energetic movement and action, the incongruity becomes ludicrous. Yet after the time of Alcamenes, this type remained predominant for Hekate, and was treated without difficulty, for the forms were generally given in repose. On the Vatican sarcophagus, which in many details is a copy of the Pergamene work, the goddess is of single shape, but the sculptor of the altar-frieze, in his love of variety or of accepted tradition, has failed to express his conception clearly. Are we to understand that there are here three whole bodies, the one shown allusively behind the other, or that the triplicity is partial only,<sup>2</sup> three trunks with three pairs of arms being united at the waist? This latter treatment is possible enough, and certain epithets, and at least one work of art, would seem to suggest and illustrate it.

More difficult and more important than the question of form is the question of the religious idea here embodied. It is not mere chance or the necessity of filling a large surface with a multitude of figures that has brought Hekate into the frieze. She is on occasions a goddess of battle, and in the description of the combat by Apollodorus she is mentioned—perhaps with design—in the same context as Dionysos. There is no proof that a special cult of Hekate existed in Pergamon,<sup>3</sup> but coins and inscriptions prove her divinity to have been in high repute in Phrygia, Galatia, and Pamphylia: and she could hardly have been absent here from the company of the gods. In what aspect

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 2, 30, 2: *τρία ἐποίησε προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις*. These words might indeed describe three shapes, arranged as in Geryon front-wise; but the common later tradition, and the significance of such figures at the three cross-roads, bears out the other interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Geschichte d. griech. Plast.* ii. p. 236, adopts this view without question; but he is wrong in con-

sidering this as an unique instance of such a rendering. *Vide* Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, ccvii. 34 and 36.

<sup>3</sup> In Arcadia, connected so closely with Pergamon in religion and legend, the worship of Despoina was supreme (Paus. 8, 37, 6); Koppen, *Die dreigestaltete Hekate* identifies Despoina with Hekate (page 6).

then is she shown us on the frieze? Whatever character or power she possessed besides, her character as a deity of the nether world was naturally prominent at this time, and is expressed here though without undue emphasis, and without the terrifying traits with which conventional literary tradition had invested the figure.<sup>1</sup> Her head has many features in common with the heads of the other goddesses, and the outlines of the face remind us of the goddess in group *A*; but the forehead protruding in the centre, the forward fall of the hair, the earnest and fixed expression, and the solemnity given by the shadows into which the profiles are cast—these are marks peculiar and appropriate to the chthonian goddess.

According to Welcker, in the later tradition, she is nothing more: the superstition, the ghostly legend, the magic rites that had become attached to her name, had obscured the earlier Hesiodic conception, of a Hekate all powerful on earth, sea, and in the sky, and beneficent to men in the various relations of life (Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, i. 567). But it is a question whether this idea, which was current at least as early as the early part of the sixth century, has disappeared so completely as Welcker supposes. Though her cult was perhaps at no age so extended or so supreme as in the passage of the *Theogony* it is represented to be, yet there are hints in the later tradition that Hekate continued to be, or came again to be something more than a goddess of the lower world. The hound and the torch which are her constant attributes belong to the moon-goddess: the former is the *ἄγαλμα* of *Ἑκάτη Φωσφόρος*—and the torch is the 'spear of the wayfaring Hekate'—*τὸ δὲ Ὀλύμπου πωλοῦσα φέρει*. In fact, both the literary tradition from Sophocles onward, as well as the art of the Alexandrine and later ages, is prone to combine the person of Hekate with Artemis, Selene, and Persephone.

This is seen in the fragment of the *Πιζοτόμοι*, in *Ion* (1049), where the chorus appeal to the *Εἰνοδία θυγάτηρ Δήμητρος*, who appears identical here with Hekate and Selene; and the

<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking such traits are found more in literature than in art; on a vase from Ruvo (*Bullet. Napol.* 1853, tav. 8), serpents are seen on her forehead.

<sup>2</sup> Sophocles, *Πιζοτόμοι*, fr. 490 ed. Nauck. In the Pergamene frieze, the hound by her side is not at all the *λυσσώπις σκυλάκη* (*Orph. Argon.* 975) of the infernal goddess.

scholiast on Theocritus, 2, 12, describes Hekate as triple-formed, with golden sandals and white mantle, a poppy in her hands and kindled torches, and a calathos (the emblem of fruitfulness), on her head. Occasionally also the names of Artemis and Hekate are indifferently used,<sup>1</sup> and although little can be based on the authority of Scholia or Orphic hymns that reveal the intention of artificial unification, yet the testimony of the classical age, as we have seen, serves to show that there is no such gulf as Welcker supposes between the Hesiodic and the later idea of the goddess; her significance in literature, and the prevalence of her worship in Aegina, Sicily, Phrygia and Galatia, may be due to the influence of the mysteries, and to her close connection with Persephone. The titles in the inscription found on the basis of the Capitoline statue designate a being essentially the same as the Titan-born Hekate of the Theogony; and by a Gallic tribe of Galatia prayers were offered to her, as all-powerful, *ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν καρπῶν*. In another respect too the later tradition harmonises with the Hesiodic account, in which Hekate is said to hold power on sea as on land. In the passage from the *Ion* above referred to, the Nereids are given her as companions, and the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, 4. 826, speaks of her and Phorbas as the mother of Scylla.<sup>2</sup> Now the action in the Pergamene frieze is a curious illustration of this obscure affinity of Hekate with the element of the sea: the head of the giant whom she is attacking has been mistaken—it has already been remarked—for the head of Poseidon; and the forms of the face, and the expression, are such as to leave no doubt that the sculptor wished to represent a giant of the water, while he was able to omit the more special and conventional marks, because beings of this element were unmistakably presented on the neighbouring slabs.

Throughout the whole frieze one may notice that the serpent-footed giants, whose forms symbolise their origin from some one of the elements, are generally armed with natural weapons only, the stone or the trunk, and not with the spear or sword. If we may assume that it is design<sup>3</sup> and not caprice which has led

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ νῦν Ἀρτεμὶς καλεῖται καὶ Φυλακὴ καὶ Δαδούχος καὶ Φωσφόρος καὶ χθονία. *Schol. Theocr.* 2. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The Despoinea of Arcadia is the daughter of Poseidon and Demeter.—

Paus. 8, 37, 6.

<sup>3</sup> In another part of the frieze a sea deity is designedly opposed to a giant of the sea; another instance, which may appear capricious, will be noticed later on.

the sculptor to confront Hekate with this distinct group of antagonists, and to combine her with Artemis, Boreas, Demeter, and Persephone, we might say that some part of the Hesiodic idea, which perhaps had never been entirely lost, reappears in this Pergamene work. And surely the triple shape can only be explained in reference to this idea of a goddess whose divinity is of many elements. It may perhaps be believed that this shape which Alcamenes made the canonical type for art, was due merely to her position at the cross-roads, and the exigencies of such a situation; but it is certain that she had guarded the cross-roads long before such a shape had been assigned her, and it is incredible that Alcamenes, a pupil and master of the most ideal school, should have been influenced by such considerations in creating the type of a divinity. Another view has been adopted by Welcker on the authority of Cornutus and Cleomedes, that the triplicity symbolises the three phases of the moon—but such authority is not very trustworthy in questions of mythological symbolism; and the well-known bronze statuette of the Capitoline Museum has some attributes that do not belong at all to a moon-goddess. If we look at the other instances, where a single divinity appears with a multiplicity of, or duality of, parts, it is surely the right explanation which refers these to a double or manifold nature belonging to more than one sphere: this is certainly the explanation of the double-headed Zeus, of the Zeus *τρίοφθαλμος*, and probably of the double-headed Boreas.

So also in the Orphic hymn quoted by Eusebius,<sup>1</sup> the three forms of Hekate are regarded as signs of her power over three elements: *τριστοίχου φύσεως συνθήματα τρισσὰ φέρουσα*. And in this instance the theory of the Orphic systematizer may accord with a genuine belief of the fifth century, B.C. It is possible of course that the tradition in the Theogony, lingering perhaps in obscure allusions, had faded, as Welcker and Bergk<sup>2</sup> suppose, from the general popular belief: but it may well have revived under the influence of the mysteries, to which Stark ascribes the later prominence of the goddess, and which disclose a tendency to widen the sphere and nature of the beings of the Dionysiac circle. But the impulse seen in literature to unify the various figures in the religious

<sup>1</sup> *Præp. Ev.* 4, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Gr. Litteratur geschichte*, i. η. 984.

belief, though it reacted on art, was checked by the artistic craving for a variety of types; and figures which are regarded as kindred or even identical remain distinct in sculpture. So that we find a triple-shaped Hekate by the side of Artemis and Persephone—and the tautology is natural.

It is difficult to say how far the Pergamene work reproduced the style of earlier representations or influenced the later. For until the discovery of our frieze, the form of the triple-shaped Hekate existed only in statuettes, coins, and reliefs. It may at least be said with certainty, that the Pergamene sculptor has borrowed nothing from Alcamenes but the main conception which the latter had made traditional; for neither the disposition of the drapery, nor the youth of the forms, nor the rendering of the flesh, recalls the style of the Pheidian age.<sup>1</sup> And the motives of the figure are probably original, inasmuch as for the first time the goddess was presented in violent movement. We see her on the Vatican relief energetically engaged in the same scene brandishing two torches against a giant; but though the Pergamene frieze has supplied many motives to the carver of the relief, the two works do not agree in the figure of Hekate; on the smaller monument, not only is she of single shape and veiled, but the forms are fuller, and the whole effect is less fantastic and more solemn. Under the Roman empire the cult of Hekate grew in importance; we are not able to ascribe to the Pergamene figure any direct influence upon later religious belief, but what is discerned in Graeco-Roman art is seen in this part of the frieze, a loss of the purer and clearer forms of sculpture.

The next scene on the right (slab *D*), is the combat of Artemis, connected skilfully with the former, as the skirts of Hekate's dress are seized from behind by a serpent belonging to a giant who has already fallen before Artemis. The goddess, whose body is now almost restored by a skilful combination of the small fragments, is standing bow in hand above the dying and the dead; the bow is missing, but from the tension in the crooked fingers of the right hand, we see that the string was at full stretch. She is confronting a naked giant of perfect human shape, who is armed in Homeric fashion with helmet, shield,

<sup>1</sup> One might conjecture that the work of Scopas (Paus. 2, 22, 7) has influenced the Pergamene sculptor.

and the spear which he levels against her. Perhaps in no other group of the frieze are the forms so sculpturesque, or of such high interest as these; for the shape and movement of the giant are conspicuous for symmetry, lithe strength, and freedom; and in the body of Artemis a rare delicacy and suppleness appear.

It has been said that the action appears to be for the moment arrested, as though both were pausing in admiration of each other. If this motive, which the remarkable beauty of the giant may have suggested, were really intended here, the sculptor would have had in his mind the tradition of the enamoured Orion, who is, as it is thought, represented here facing the goddess. It is true that romantic episodes are frequently found in the later literary and artistic representations of the gigantomachy, and such a treatment of the subject might be expected in Alexandrine art. The cylix of Aristophanes shows us a young giant sinking down unarmed and unresisting before Artemis, and there is a pathetic, perhaps an amorous, expression in his face. On the Louvre amphora we see a child Eros seated on the horses of Ares and drawing a tiny bow. Such motives would appeal to later Roman art and literature; in the Greek fragment attributed to Claudian, the only weapons which Aphrodite brings to the contest are her smiles and other charms; and the spirit of the scene described by Themistius is the same, in which a giant is represented sinking before the first glance of Love. But in this respect the Pergamene work is superior to the prevalent taste: for the action is serious throughout. I have failed to discover any trace of the suggested sentiment, or any hint of arrested movement in the goddess or in the young warrior, who seems on the alert for the contest, and in the middle of his stride.

The fixed regard which each casts on the other serves only to heighten the impression of the momentous contest, and is a special mark of faces rendered in the Lysippean style. The whole form of Orion—to accept this name for convenience<sup>1</sup>—recalls the style of Lysippus in the slimness of the proportions, in the naturalistic treatment of the flesh, the tension of the muscles, and especially in the comparatively small head and the

<sup>1</sup> There is no real reason for so calling him; the name of Orion is not found in any account of the gigan-

tomachy, nor have the legends concerning him anything to do with this tradition.



clearly-marked cheek-bones. His limbs show a certain fineness of athletic training, and the only marks which he possesses of the type to which he belongs are the thick wavy hair, the rather deep eye-sockets, and the rather mobile features. Artemis appears in the character of a huntress, wearing a short woollen chiton which leaves the left shoulder bare, and is bound around her waist by a scarf that is drawn across the breast.<sup>1</sup> On the vase of Ruvo her equipment is almost the same; on the cylix of Aristophanes and on the Louvre amphora, she is armed with the torch, the proper weapon of the Artemis Phosphorus, though at the same time she carries the bow on her shoulders, and her guise is on the whole that of the huntress. The result is that on both these latter works, her person is somewhat overloaded with attributes; on the Pergamene frieze her character is simply marked—and as she is opposed to an antagonist armed in the ordinary fashion of the hoplite, she also bears a weapon of real war.

Her features are fresh and delicate, and do not conform so nearly to the Pergamene type, as those of the other goddesses: they have not the ordinary fulness, nor does the forehead protrude much in the middle above the eyes. The whole contour rather approaches the oval; the lines about the mouth remind us slightly of the treatment of Praxiteles. The hair is drawn back so as fully to reveal the face, and is bound up in a high knot behind; two small locks fall upon the forehead crescent-wise. Her presence on the frieze requires no comment or explanation, for before and after this date she is commonly found in representations of this myth, and we can see directly a close connection between this Pergamene figure and the Artemis on the Mattei relief, though in the later work her form has less movement, and her feet are more firmly set to bear the strain of the action. The three vases to which I have already referred, on which she is found, are considerably earlier than the altar; but in the literature or art of the fifth or sixth century, Artemis is rarely<sup>2</sup> or never assigned any share in the action, nor at any time is her presence prominent. But in kindred myths, such

<sup>1</sup> Claudian (*Rap. Proserp.* 234) speaking of the 'geminus cinctus' of Diana, may refer to some such arrangement.

<sup>2</sup> Trendelenburg gives the name of Artemis to the figure called Hera by Heydemann on the vase from Altamura.

as the slaying of Tityos, and the death of the Aloades, and in one tradition of the Titanomachy, if we can accept the statement of Hyginus, fab. 150, she plays a leading part. Touching the question as to the school which created this type of Artemis little can be said. There is of course nothing original in the main design of the Pergamene figure; the action and pose of the goddess here is seen also in some representations of the death of the Niobids and of Tityos, and is so natural and obvious that it must have frequently occurred where she was shown in combat with an enemy. It is repeated with much resemblance even of details in the small bronze in Naples,<sup>1</sup> though there the arrow has left the string, and the action is nearly over. But there is no representation of the Gigantomachy which serves to illustrate the Pergamene Artemis: and it would be idle to try to find the prototype in a supposed group at Delphi of Athene, Apollo, and Artemis. It will be sufficient to say here that if the Artemis of Versailles is rightly regarded as a copy of the Delphic statue, then the Delphic statue was no model for the eyes of the Pergamene sculptor; for the Artemis of our frieze resembles the Louvre work only in the dress and in such characteristics of form and expression as belong to the nature of the goddess; they differ in the movement, in the aim of the representation, and in the workmanship. The influence of Lysippus is not to be supposed as present here, for he is not known to have done anything for the creation of the type of Artemis, it was Praxiteles who fixed the younger ideal of Leto, and the children of Leto. And even before his generation, Strongylion, the pupil of Myron, had carved a statue which represented the goddess—perhaps for the first time in sculpture—moving rapidly forward with hostile purpose.

On slab *D* of the frieze between the figures of Artemis and the opposing giant, which give the limits of the scene, there is much interesting detail. With the right foot of the goddess upon his breast lies a fallen giant of human form, raising his left arm to his head in the manner of the dying Niobid at Munich; his hand wrought with exquisite softness and truth appears just beneath her foot, and the loosening fingers tell pathetically of the last moments of consciousness. And again by the feet of 'Orion,' and half-covered by his shield, is a

<sup>1</sup> Müller, D. d. a. K. 2, 158.

conquered giant, older than the other and serpent-footed, who may have been mortally wounded by the arrows of Artemis, and whose neck is being mangled by the teeth of her hound. He has fallen sideways upon his left arm so as to front the spectator, while his right hand is raised over his head, and is convulsively tearing out the eye of the animal which torments him. There is more here than an interesting episode: for this is the giant whose serpent-head is attacking Hekate on the left, and we are able better to feel the connection between the different parts of the frieze.

A concentration of interest on the central figures, the careful preservation of the continuity of the action,<sup>1</sup> repletion of details along the basement and in the background, are marks of Pergamene relief style, and clearly illustrated on these slabs.

On the right of Artemis is another goddess whose weapon is the torch, and who therefore belongs to the family of deities that are grouped at one of the corners of the frieze. She is striding against an antagonist of whom no intelligible fragments remain, and as the form of the goddess herself is not perfectly preserved, it is hard to gain a clear conception of the manner of the contest. Her torch is aimed low, and it is probable that her enemy has sunk down before her. We might believe that she is none other than Leto, who—as I have mentioned—was present on the frieze, and who would be appropriately placed here; but fragments, of which a drawing has been sent to Berlin, have been found recently at Pergamon, showing a figure of a goddess who is said to be Leto and who is armed with a spear.

The upper torso of a very slim goddess equipped with the bow, and girt round the waist with a scarf, may be supposed to belong to a nymph in the following of Artemis.

There can be little doubt that the figure of Apollo appeared in the vicinity of this scene. But it has been suggested that immediately on the right of Artemis and her kindred goddesses another group found its place, composed of three combatants—a winged goddess, and a young god who is wrestling with a lion-

<sup>1</sup> Another principle is seen in the smaller reliefs discovered at Pergamon, which will be described later.

headed giant (Fig. 1). The only reason for believing that the two latter are to be placed near Apollo is the similarity of workmanship which suggests that the two groups are the work of the same hand. And on the back of the giant the doubtful fragments of a wing are seen which certainly does not spring from his shoulders, but which might naturally belong to

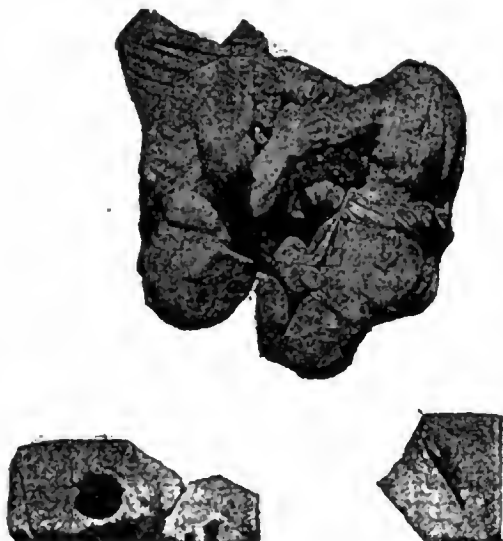


FIG. 1.

the goddess, whose head and upper body has been skilfully constructed out of eighteen pieces, and who would then be standing close behind him, and leaning forward to deliver a blow with a sword or spear. It is difficult to decide the personality of this winged figure. The face is large and oval—and the head shows faint traces of a diadem, but is too mutilated to afford a clue. It would be easy to name her Nike; we have already seen a winged Nike in attendance on Athene, and the broken torso of a female charioteer is probably part of another, whose charge was the chariot of Zeus. It is certainly not uncommon to find many Nikae in the same scene; but there is no precedent for the representation of one in active combat

by the side of Apollo. The winged goddess may of course be Iris, and her presence in this place would be explicable enough, if the god who is grasping the head of the giant in his arms, and whose naked form and skilful movements speak of the training of the palaestra, were Hermes: Iris, Hermes, and Apollo would be a natural combination. But there are other allegorical beings besides Nike that were brought into the frieze.

Among the names of the gods which have been found inscribed on fragments of the Cornice that of Themis occurs; and though we cannot recognise her in any of the fragments, there is no doubt that she was taking an active part in the combat. Now the presence in vehement action of a figure that has come in later belief, according to Welcker, merely to be an impersonation of an abstract moral idea is strange enough. Isolated examples may be quoted, but as a rule, figures such as Ἀρετή, Δίκη, Πίστις, are not used for dramatic purposes. A very remarkable exception may be quoted: on a fragment of a vase belonging probably to the fourth century,<sup>1</sup> a figure appears, which according to the inscription is Παιδεία, wielding a thyrsos in one of the battles of Dionysos, not improbably the Gigantomachy itself. But this sort of allegorical drama which recalls the contest of Dike and Adikia on the chest of Cypselus is alien to the spirit of Greek sculpture, and it has yet to be shown that it is admitted in the Pergamene frieze. In fact the presence of Themis was appropriate in such a scene, because she was both in earlier and later belief a real agent, as personal as the Erinyes, and no mere moral abstraction such as Dike or Paideia. There seems no ground for separating so rigidly as Welcker<sup>2</sup> would an earlier Themis, a Titan goddess of prophetic power identical with Gaia and Demeter, of whom Aeschylus and Pindar knew, and the goddess of the moral order—the Themis of the later system. The progress in the conception seems rather to be this, that the moral idea which was combined with the physical in the Ge-Themis, becomes detached from the physical. Yet the later Themis remains real and personal, as the Titan-Themis from whom she is developed. She is mentioned among such goddesses as Dione, Rhea, and Amphitrite at the birth of

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythologie*, i. p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> Welcker, *Griech. Götterlehre*, i. p. 326.

Apollo:<sup>1</sup> and if it were true that she is present there as the primeval Titan-goddess, as Weleker, without any expressed reason, supposes, then, as the poet names her *Ἰχναία*<sup>2</sup> the tracker of crime, the older and later conceptions meet. In short, an examination of the legends and cults in various parts of Greece suggests that the more recent character of Themis was influenced by the recollection of the earlier myths.<sup>3</sup>

Her appearance on the Pergamene frieze among the deities shows of course that her personality is entirely independent of that of Ge, else the inappropriateness would be glaring; but it corroborates the conclusion that she is a real existence, available for dramatic representation.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately there is nothing to determine her exact place in the frieze, and there are no intrinsic reasons that can decide. *Prima facie*, she would be looked for near the group of Zeus, but in tradition and cult she is as closely related to Apollo.<sup>5</sup> And if she were really placed near Apollo on the frieze, a new suggestion might be offered in explanation of the fragmentary winged figure, referred to already as a possible Iris. We have seen and shall see how the Pergamene sculptors have been prone to surround a prominent deity with a group of kindred or subordinate beings, and we might thus suppose that the daughters of Themis, the Hours, were in her company. Then if the place of the winged goddess and the place of Themis have been rightly indicated as near Apollo, the former might be interpreted to be Eunomia,<sup>6</sup> for the representation of one of the Hours as winged can be illustrated by one instance, and by the parallel of the winged figures that personify the divisions of the year. But much doubt attaches to all these hypotheses; we are certain of the presence of Themis—it is not unlikely that she was in the neighbourhood of Apollo, and it is perhaps probable that the mutilated winged figure was

<sup>1</sup> *Hymn to Apollo*, line 94.

<sup>2</sup> This word has more properly an ethical than a geographical reference; but *vide* Strabo, 435.

<sup>3</sup> Such combinations as Ge-Themis and Athene-Themis, found in inscriptions from the Athenian theatre, do not prove that *Θέμις* is a mere abstract epithet. Compare such composite figures as Zeus-Poseidon, Zeus-Dionysos.

<sup>4</sup> Somewhat analogous is the part which the Moiræ play in the action. Apollod. i. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, 9, 22, 1, and 10, 5, 6.

<sup>6</sup> The letters ET have been preserved on a fragment giving the name of a deity; one of three suggestions will probably be accepted, viz. that the name is Eurynome, or Enterpe (for the Muses probably appeared on the frieze), or Eunomia.

close behind the lion-headed giant, and that these three were also near to Apollo, placed in fact immediately on his left.

However we are to name them, the figures of the god and the giant (given on Plate N in Conze's *Bericht*) are of interest. At first sight one might be tempted to name the former Heracles, so exactly does this contest resemble his contest with the Nemean lion as represented on many vases and reliefs. But this is impossible, as there are signs of Heracles elsewhere, and the action here is quite unfitted to the part usually assigned him in the Gigantomachy.<sup>1</sup> The young god whose head and most of whose legs are missing, seems to have taken a firm stand, while his arms are clasped round the neck of his enemy. The latter is of monstrous and fantastic shape; though the lower part of his body is missing there are faint indications of serpent-legs, and his head and arms very closely resemble the head and forepaws of a lion. As Conze has remarked, the Milesian legend of the giant Leon,<sup>2</sup> said to have been conquered by Heracles, may have given the hint for such a representation which recalls some of the grotesque figures of Oriental art. The combination, however it may violate the spirit of Greek sculpture, is full of skill and subtlety. Though the expression in the features is purely animal, some traces of the human features yet remain. The nose and the eye are distorted certainly, but recognisably human, and the wild mane is so arranged that a lock falls over the forehead resembling human hair. Again, the nails with which he is lacerating the left arm of the god belong neither to a human hand nor to a lion's paw, but to a limb which resembles partly one, partly the other. We have the testimony of Pausanias<sup>3</sup> to the excellence of certain representations of animals which he saw wrought in iron at Pergamon. But this fusion of the human and animal natures is rare, and is the one quality of the work which is original. I know of no instance of such a combination, except a small bronze at Vienna<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Traces of a long lock of hair appear on his back between the shoulders; a long-haired god will scarcely be Hermes, and certainly not Heracles. The Oriental character of the other figure in the group suggests that it belongs to the company of Cybele, and that the young god is akin to her.

<sup>2</sup> Are we to give this name to the curious lion-headed and winged figure found on a Cyzicene stater, of which a cast is in the British Museum?

<sup>3</sup> Paus. x. 18, 5: θαύματος οὐκ ἐλαχίστου καὶ ἐν Περγᾶμῳ λέοντός τε καὶ ὡς ἀγρίου κεφαλῆ.

<sup>4</sup> *Annali dell. Inst.* xiii. p. 170, 260.

of later origin, showing the lion-headed Mithras—whose head seems closely to resemble that of the Pergamene giant in its admixture of human expression. We see in the group of Hekate the same skill in rendering animal forms, but this supplies us with no additional argument for placing group N in proximity to Apollo. There is a detail in the arrangement of these bodies which illustrates the special character of Pergamene work, the profusion of effect; the right hand or paw of the monster is burying its nails in the left arm of the god near his shoulder: the other paw, if as would be natural in such an attitude it had been lacerating the corresponding limb, would have been hidden from our sight by the body of the god. But in order to show as much of the action as was possible, the sculptor has brought the left arm of the giant obliquely across the body of his antagonist, and it is clutching with its claws his left thigh which is nearest to the spectator. Such an arrangement does not at first glance appear strained, but on reflection it strikes one as neither obvious nor natural; and the aim at fuller display of the figure is much more skilfully attained by the composition of the group on the coin of Heraclea: (Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, v. 32.) But the execution is masterly; the marble becomes sensitive flesh yielding to the pressure, as it seemed to Pliny in a work exhibited at Pergamon by Cephissodotus, a pupil of Praxiteles.<sup>1</sup>

For beauty of sculpture and for importance in the history of sculpture, the slabs on which the form and combat of Apollo are represented stand very high (Fig. 2); and the best traditions of the great schools are followed here. The archer-god, whose quiver is made fast by a band that passes round his shoulders and waist, stands above a fallen giant of human limbs who lies before his feet. On the right is another giant whose torso and fragments of the lower body are preserved, and who stands so that his back is facing the

<sup>1</sup> Pergami symplegma nobile digitis corpori verius quam marmori impressis. Pliny, 36, 24.

It is interesting to compare the Pergamene group with the bronze of Heracles and the lion; Furtwängler, *Sabouroff*, ix. cxlviii. The type of the action is the same, but the head of

Heracles is bent much further forward, and his body has more of the 'distortum et elaboratum,' but the bronze shows a glaring defect in the position of the left arm of Heracles, which is avoided on the corresponding figure of the frieze.



spectator, and though the right arm is lost, the muscles of the right side and shoulder suggest that he is lifting the heavy weight of a rock against his enemy. By his left side are the fragments of a wild beast's fell, which his left arm was holding out in the usual fashion. He and Apollo are the chief figures



FIG. 2.

of a scene which is far less profusely crowded than is usual in the frieze; for the space between the two combatants is comparatively wide, and would admit a minor episode such as the combat of an eagle and serpent. But enough is preserved to show us that the upper part of the frieze was not thus filled,

and could have displayed nothing but the fell of the giant and the bow of Apollo. The middle and lower parts of the field were relieved by the himation that falls from the latter's outstretched arm, and covers the background like a curtain.<sup>1</sup> In fact there are fewer picturesque elements in this group than in most others, and a very high effect is achieved within the proper style of sculpture.

As the figure of the so-called Orion is distinct among the giants, Apollo is distinct among the gods, and nowhere else in the frieze can be found proportions so ideal, or such fineness of execution, or such lightness and studied balance in the attitude. The whole form is instinct with life and with the assured consciousness of victory, and the impression of slim and elastic strength is given in accord with the Lysippean method, by the soft and fluent treatment of the muscles, which are never massed together, but pass from the one course over into the other with facile gradations.

The best traditions of an older style have guided the sculptor in choosing the action which the forms were to express. This has been misinterpreted by Dr. Furtwängler,<sup>2</sup> who considers that Apollo is marching to the left. On the contrary, there is a momentary pause, as the muscular tension in the legs shows that they are firmly planted on the ground; otherwise the quiet downward sweep of the drapery, possible and effective when the movement is for the moment arrested, as we see in one of the Lapith combats of the Parthenon's metopes, and on the metope of the Theseum, would be altogether inappropriate. Apollo is not at this moment discharging the arrow; if so, the shot would have been ineffective, for his enemy is erect and as yet unconquered; but we see the instant preceding the discharge when the right arm is being lightly lifted towards the quiver which appears behind his neck. A small fragment of the biceps of this arm has been recently fitted on, and as it is not perceptibly rounded, the movement can only be just beginning, and the fingers are not yet closing on the arrow as in the representation on the vase of the British Museum which

<sup>1</sup> On the frieze of the Theseum we see this motive effectively employed for the figure of the so-called Theseus, and the Pallantid that hurls the stone

against him recalls the figure of the giant that confronts Apollo.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, 3, p. 251, note.

shows Apollo rescuing Leto from Tityos.<sup>1</sup> But the intention is still the same; the chief action is not given, but the eager preparation, and by this happy choice of motive the scene gains in dramatic fulness, and the highest effect of sculpture is secured, the effect of collectedness. The sculptor then has followed the older generation in his adherence to this principle; has he also borrowed from some earlier work the details of the action, and the special rendering of the forms?

There is certainly no known representation of the Gigantomachy in which we can find the original, or any hint of the original of the Pergamene figure. His form scarcely occurs in the earliest vase-paintings that deal with the myth; and on the vases of the<sup>2</sup> second period his weapon is not the bow, but the sword, though he sometimes bears the quiver on his shoulders as an emblem. Even on the amphora of the Louvre, which belongs to the third period, and which shows an excessive profusion of detail, he fights with the torch, though he holds the bow in his left hand. In fact, neither these nor any existing works present us with the original of which we are in quest. That the Pergamene Apollo is itself a derived work we may assume, first because of its affinity with contemporary or nearly contemporary works, and again because there is no known type of a purely Hellenic deity which can be ascribed to the creativeness of the second century. Its connection with the Belvedere and Stroganoff Apollos has been much noticed,<sup>3</sup> and by Furtwängler perhaps exaggerated.

The points of agreement between the Belvedere and Pergamene works are such as these: the outstretched left arm, which is less rigid in the former, the garment which hangs down from it, the quiver-belt around the chest, and the slight leftward inclination of the body. But the motion of the right arm is very different, the legs of the Apollo on the frieze are far more firmly placed, and the poise of the head—of which a faint print remains on the back of the frieze—seems much simpler and more direct, showing, or rather suggesting, none of the elegant curvature

<sup>1</sup> Published by Lenormant, *Étude Céram.*, vol. 2, pl. lv. Very similar is the action of Apollo on the relief from Termessus (of late date, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 158).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. on the vase from Altamura, published by Heydemann.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Overbeck, *Geschichte d. griech. Plastik.* 2, p. 237; Conze, *Die Ergebnisse d. Ausgrabungen...* 1880, p. 61; Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 251.

which is essential to the main effect of the Belvedere Apollo. And the difference in the treatment of the flesh is too obvious to need much comment: the surface of the body is made warm, fresh, and articulate by the Pergamene sculptor: while the chief fault of the Vatican work is the uninteresting inarticulate surface. We cannot compare them in respect of the countenance and expression, because only a small fragment of the Pergamene head has been preserved: but a certain number of heads of deities belonging to the frieze and to separate works have been discovered at Pergamon, sufficient to establish a certain distinct type which will afterwards be described, and to which the Belvedere head, with its mobile Alexandrine cast of features, its sudden depression from the cheeks to the centre, does not at all closely conform. It is probable that the head of the Pergamene Apollo reproduced the main features which Kekule<sup>1</sup> has illustrated from a series of coins that may go back to the beginning of the fifth century; but its expression may yet have remained native and distinct.

But if we suppose that the Pergamene and Vatican statues with the kindred Stroganoff bronze are free replicas of some common original, no one has been successful in discovering where or when or under what circumstances this was created. A suggestion made by Preller has been laboriously worked up by Overbeck<sup>2</sup> into the theory that the Belvedere Apollo (regarded as closely related to the Pergamene), the Artemis of Versailles, the Capitoline Athene, are copies of a group of the three deities dedicated at Delphi by the Aetolians after the great repulse of the Gauls from the temple, that Apollo was represented as the shaker of the aegis, and that the group itself was no original conception, but derived from a supposed group produced in the fifth century, and commemorating at Delphi the similar repulse of the Persians. But this argument is a valueless accumulation of hypotheses; we do not know that the figures seen by Pausanias at Delphi formed a group engaged in a common action at all: indeed his words suggest a number of single<sup>3</sup> and separate statues: still less do we know the significance or motive of these

<sup>1</sup> Kekule, *Apollo-köpfe*, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 7; *vide* silver coin from Epidauros, *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, taf. 23, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesch. d. griech. Plast.* 2, 320—323.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. x. 15, 2: στρατηγοὶ δὲ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς, δύο τε Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγάλματα ἔστιν Αἰτωλῶν.

figures—and we are not certain that the Belvedere Apollo is shaking the aegis, and the supposed original group of the fifth century is a pure figment. It is a theory at least as plausible that the representation at Delphi of Apollo and Artemis discharging their arrows at Tityos, the violator of Latona, and himself an earth-born giant, suggested or reproduced the type of the Apollo Gigantophonos; and certain points of resemblance have been noticed between the figure on the fifth-century vase, published by Lenormant, and the Pergamene Apollo. If indeed there had been a group of statues at Delphi clearly presenting the deities in the act of warding off the Gauls, it is probable that this would have supplied some motives for the Pergamene frieze, for the event commemorated was very similar in both cases, and we have seen that the giants were the mythic counterpart of the Gauls. Positive evidence is wanting; but there is this negative evidence against the supposed derivation of certain Pergamene figures from the work at Delphi. The Athene on the frieze could have borne no likeness to the Athene which Pausanias saw in the temple, as the pose and action would be quite unsuitable for a single statue, or for a statue in such a group as Overbeck conceives.

Leaving the question of origins, we may ask whether the fragments of the Pergamene Apollo serve to clear up the difficulties concerning the Belvedere and Stroganoff works, with which we may admit its affinity. The main questions touching the Belvedere, its correct restoration and its dramatic meaning, will still remain undecided. The discovery at Pergamon does not even increase the probability that Apollo Belvedere is combating the giants or the Gauls; for replicas of the same original might be used for the purposes of very different representations.

But the question whether the thing held in his hand is an aegis or a bow is now on a slightly altered footing. As long as the Stroganoff bronze was the only work which could supply a parallel, and no doubt existed that the fragment in its left hand was part of an aegis, it seemed natural to describe Apollo Belvedere as *Alyioxos*. But if we allow that the Stroganoff Apollo holds the aegis, yet the value of the illustration is lost; for it is met by the counter-illustration from Pergamon of an Apollo admitted to be of kindred work and conception who holds out

the bow. Of course no other argument would avail at all, if the attribute of the bow were unsuitable to the Belvedere statue, if, as has been said, its pose did not conform to the action of the archer. But this is surely not the case: the actual discharge of the arrow, or the fitting of the arrow to the string, could not be the motive of the figure, but the movement of the limbs, the pose of both arms, the eyes fixed upon the distance, might suggest that the arrow has just been sent, and that the muscles are just relaxing from the tension of the effort, and that, though the change has begun, the limbs still preserve something of the forms into which the action of the instant preceding had set them. If he is holding the aegis, the outstretched fingers of the left hand, the quiver belt round his chest, the direction of the eyes, have much less appropriateness and meaning.

At present the task of rearrangement deals rather with probabilities than proofs. It is probable that Apollo was not far from the chief Olympians; and it is a reasonable conjecture that in the centre of one of the fronts were seen the groups of Athene and Zeus already described. As these deities are the leaders in the action, a conspicuous place must have been assigned to them, and this could not have been the centres of the small façades on each side of the staircase. For a fragment which has fortunately been discovered proves clearly that the two scenes are continuous, and that the figure of Athene was seen on the right of Zeus, separated by only a small interval from him. The fragment is part of the slab which completes the group of Athene on the left, on which we can discern the mutilated upper parts of the giant's body who lies below Typhon. Above is preserved a small portion of Athene's serpent and a fragment of Typhon's wing, and on the extreme left of the recently found slab appear remains of a serpent's body which exactly fit the broken surfaces of the serpent-limb which belongs to the giant who confronts Zeus.

Near the centre of this front came in all probability the four-horsed chariot which a winged Nike was driving over a heap of the slain; and the figure of Hera, who though never a personage conspicuous in the action was almost indispensable for the Pergamene artists, must have been placed in this part of the frieze.

She is found on the amphora of Caere, clothed in a long chiton, and grasping her enemy by the shoulder while she strikes

...

with her sword. She is found on the cylix of Aristophanes, which in conception and style comes near to the Pergamene work, and her form has there the softness and elegance of the later type. The stephane rises above her forehead, her veil falls down behind her head, but this time her weapon is the spear which she levels at the fallen Rhoetus whose uplifted arm she clutches. This type may have become fixed for the armed and combating Hera,<sup>1</sup> but it does not enable us to discover the goddess in any of the Pergamene figures; for the action of grasping the arm or shoulder of the enemy is too natural and common to serve as a clue.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that the Hera of our frieze did not differ essentially from the goddess represented on the cylix.

Near to the group of the more prominent Olympian deities we should expect to find Ares. He cannot be identified in any of the combatants, but a fragment which has been found with his name upon it proves his presence on the frieze, and shows also that he was placed on the left of one of the corners. As he had appeared very frequently both in earlier and later representations of this action, the Pergamene sculptor was under no necessity of creating any new type for the sake of his theme.

But Ares himself seems to have been one of a group of related deities; for among the inscriptions are found the names of Enyo and Aphrodite. Both goddesses must have been seen near Ares; but the only artistic record of Enyo<sup>3</sup> that has been preserved does not help us to discover her with certainty in any of the existing figures. Neither in Homer nor in other source of religious legend does she possess any independent existence or cult, nor is she employed by poetry or art as a dramatic agent. But it is not surprising that her figure should have been used by the sculptors of the frieze whose task demanded a multitude of

<sup>1</sup> On the fifth-century vase, published by Heydemann, Hera, according to his explanation, is seen fighting with the spindle. The same figure is explained by Trendelenburg as Artemis with the plectron.

<sup>2</sup> One might conjecture that the figure from the Gigantomachy of the frieze of Priene, whose left arm seizes her antagonist's head, is Hera (Over-

beck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plast.* vol. ii. p. 102, fig. b.

<sup>3</sup> She is found in coins of Brutii hurrying forward in long chiton, with helmet on head, and holding shield in both hands. The conjecture that the sons of Praxiteles who carved a statue of Enyo fixed for sculpture the type of the goddess has some plausibility. ...

deities, and whose age was not offended if beings who had little hold on the popular mythology were brought into action.

The place of Aphrodite on the frieze is easy to fix, though there are not many works to which we can appeal for direct illustration. She could not have been far from Ares; as she is placed by his side in the only other representation of the Gigantomachy in which she occurs, namely, in the painting on the Louvre amphora, where she is guiding the chariot of the god.

It has been thought by many that the goddess under *F* (according to the enumeration in the *Beschreibung der pergamenischen Bildwerke*) can be recognised as Aphrodite. But the only reason for this belief is the beauty of the light and half-transparent drapery; and that this figure is proved by the marks of the joining of the stones to be the corner slab on left of the north-east corner is a fatal objection, because the stone on which the name Aphrodite is inscribed is no corner-stone. It is a misfortune that the Aphrodite of the Pergamene frieze has been lost, for it would have been interesting to have compared her form with the Melian statue, and to have seen if the Pergamene school had done anything for the creation of the type of the Venus Victrix.

It is noteworthy that the participation of Aphrodite in the action dates from the Alexandrine era. It was as unsuitable<sup>1</sup> to the spirit of earlier tradition, as it was suitable to the Alexandrine treatment of tradition, and later poetry, as well as later art, gave as has been seen, an erotic colour to certain passages of the myth. But considering the epic dignity preserved in nearly all the representations on this frieze, we should expect to find the action of Aphrodite free of any erotic sentiments, and the type of the armed Aphrodite had long been known to temple-worship (e.g. Paus. 3, 15, 10).

There is still another goddess who must have been placed near this group, for the evidence of inscriptions again supplies the gaps on the monument and proves the presence of Dione. The Pergamene sculptor would hardly have placed her in the vicinity of Zeus, for it is only the Dodonean cult that maintains

<sup>1</sup> The myth of the destruction of the giants at Phanagoria (Strabo, 495) through the guile of Aphrodite, if an

early local legend, is possibly non-Hellenic.



her close relation with him. Whatever may have been the original conception of her as Titan-goddess akin to Ge, she is of importance in later times merely as the mother of Aphrodite.<sup>1</sup> Once more we are left to conjecture to discover the form under which she appeared on the frieze; she cannot be the thinly-robed and youthful goddess on slab *F*, for we must expect more august drapery and more matronly forms. Scarcely known in sculpture, she is clearly defined in the numismatic record alone. It is possible that the ample and austere clad figure in the Parthenon west pediment on whose lap Aphrodite is sitting is Dione, represented by Pheidias's school, if we may trust Carrey's drawing, as without the veil which she always wears on the coins of Epirus and Thessaly.<sup>2</sup> On these she appears sometimes by the side of Zeus, sometimes alone, always veiled and wearing at times the polos and the crown of laurel or oak-leaves. Her face has something of the features and expression of Ceres, to whom her personality is rather akin. As these coins belong to the beginning of the second or end of the third century, it is probable that the Dione at Pergamon was not materially different from the type of these.

The row of figures immediately on the right of the north-east corner are preserved, if it is certain that here was seen the goddess on slab *F* whose chiton is transparent enough to reveal the beauty of her limbs, and who is treading with her left foot on the face of a fallen giant. On her left arm is a shield, and near it are traces which seem to indicate the butt-end of a spear which she will then be holding in her left hand as a weapon in reserve. Her head, and most of her right arm and the lower part of her right leg are gone, but enough remains of the whole figure to show the nature of the action. Her enemy, who is youthful, and as he bears a shield is probably of human form throughout, has fallen hopelessly before her, in such a way as to suggest that a few instants previously he was fleeing before her and that she had dragged him back by the hair. She is now bending forward, and her whole force is directed

<sup>1</sup> Theocritus, 17, 36. Hyginus, ed. Schmidt, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *B. M. Cat. Greek Coins*, Epirus, pl. 17. 5, 12; pl. 18, 1. The vase pub-

lished by Welcker, *Alle Denkmäler*, 3, p. 136, does not serve as an analogy. Dione is there in the *cortège* of Bacchus, and wears a vine-crown.

downwards, as though she were about to give him the *coup de grace* with the sword, which though not seen we may believe to be her weapon, because of the sword-belt round her breast and the sheath that hangs at her side.

We may perhaps regard her as a goddess subordinate to Aphrodite, if the latter actually appeared on the left of the corner. The head of the young giant whom she has overthrown is wrought with sharp lines and smooth surfaces, and the expression is concentrated in the middle of the face about the mouth and in the lines of the forehead where the pain is shown.

As for the pose of the figures, it seems to be an invention either of the Pergamene school itself or of the later Alexandrine era, and testifies to the effort of the sculptor to win a strong effect of pathos; it is not employed elsewhere in the frieze.

Pathos is also the intention of another trait in the same scene. Beneath the first giant is seen another, who is lying with his head resting on his arms and his face buried in the earth, so that nothing more of him is visible than the back part of his head, his arms and shoulders, and the matted hair streaming downwards. The attitude betokens the shame of defeat, the quiet of death amidst the tumult, and is found in another place of the frieze where the winged horses of Zeus are represented, and beneath the chariot an armed giant is lying prone.

But the motive—a prostrate combatant with the head sunk and the hair falling over—was a tradition of frieze-sculpture both early and late, and seems proper to a wild type; thus we see it in a representation of a dead Centaur on the Phigaleian frieze and of another on a Roman sarcophagus.<sup>1</sup>

Few parts of the frieze are more intentionally pathetic than these picturesque details which show the ruin and confusion of the battle-field; and it is with these that the lower part of the ground is chiefly filled. We have here a principle of frieze-composition which had never been so conspicuous before; for while the tendency of the larger relief-works belonging to the fifth and fourth century, where a multitude of figures is given, is to concentrate the interest rather on the centre of the slab, the

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. inediti dell. Inst.* 1854, pl. xix.

base of the Pergamene frieze is filled up with so rich a store of accessory themes that it appears as a decorated architectural support of the upper parts. This principle is still further carried out in the Roman sarcophagus reliefs.

On the next connected slab (*G*) a goddess is again in combat, but here the victory is by no means certain. A youthful winged giant with serpent's feet is dangerously threatening her with a stone which he appears to be raising in his right hand, though only fragments of his arms remain; and by the manner in which he faces his antagonist we are reminded of the giant confronting Hekate. The goddess is turning partially in the opposite direction, and at first sight her movement recalls the movement of Athene, but is due to an altogether different reason, for she is not merely drawing her body back for the blow, but we see something of fear displayed in the retreating motion of the left limbs. Her right hand is lost, but from signs that remain it is judged that she must have been holding a weapon across her breast, ready for defence or for a stroke. Neither her position on the frieze nor her form tell us anything of her personality; but at most the suggestion may be made that it is a subordinate goddess whose action has not the boldness or promise of victory which suits the action of the deities. The wild nature and animal characteristics of her opponent are combined with a youthful beauty of countenance, of which the features belong on the whole to the first type, but yet produce a new effect on account of the short flattened chin, the sharply-marked cheek-bones, and bow-shaped curve of the lips. The expression is of determination rather than rage.

At the top of the frieze on the left is a combat between his serpent-limb and an eagle, the arrangement being the same almost by necessity as a similar combat in the group of Zeus. We may take this example to show that a mere correspondence in motive is no sufficient criterion for asserting correspondence in position.

The composition of the next group (*H*) shows nothing original. A giant of human form has fallen before his foe, and while supporting himself on his left knee is raising his right arm against the god who has thrown him down. The main outlines of the action have become almost stereotyped in reliefs of battle-scenes, and may be seen at least three times in the Pergamene altar.

The god who is here in combat is apparently youthful and long-haired and almost naked, wearing nothing but a chlamys that flutters behind him. On his left arm is a round shield and in his right hand probably a spear, which he draws back for a thrust. The question how to name him will be discussed in connection with the next scene.

The composition of group *I* has more originality. A giant has raised a young god off the ground, and has encircled his chest with both arms, at the same time fastening his teeth into his left arm, while the serpent-limbs are entangling his lower parts, and the serpent's head towering on high threatens him from above. The god is making a furious effort to free himself, his left foot is pressed hard upon the serpent's thigh, but his other foot can find no hold on the slippery coils, and he has no weapon free for offence except the right arm that is levelling a blow at the giant's head with a weapon which is shown by the pose of the mutilated hand to be a spear. What is most striking in the whole is the skill with which the different parts of the two combatants are welded together, the involution of the human and animal limbs. The gigantic hands that meet and are interlaced under the breast of the god look like the seal of a heavy chain, and the giant's head, which belongs to the most ferocious type of these, is so placed as to coincide compactly with the small shield and left arm of the god that appears over it.

The group of Heracles and Antaeus in Milton house, which recalls and yet essentially differs from this group, has been already mentioned; and no one would see Heracles in the god on this slab. He has been regarded as one of the Cabiri, only because no other but a subordinate deity could be represented as so hard pressed. But as other subordinate deities might be mentioned the weakness of such reasoning is plain, and the theory is confronted by the probability that the Cabiri, if present on the frieze, were in the vicinity of Cybele, and that her place was on the right of one of the corners, and was therefore removed from the position of group *I*.

We come somewhat nearer to the interpretation of the figures when we see that the god who is entangled by the serpent-limbs and he who is striking down the giant on the left are of kindred nature. Both are naked, both carry the shield and probably the spear. Such accoutrements and the

long hair<sup>1</sup> of the one that is still visible behind his neck suggest the belief that these are the Dioscuri. And it is not surprising that the contest of one of the Dioscuri should be more doubtful and desperate than the contest of the Olympians.

It is true that there is no literary record of their presence in the Gigantomachy, but the Louvre amphora, with its rich illustration of the myth, supplies monumental testimony; the two riders who there appear fighting with spears can be none other than the Twin Brethren; and they appear there as deities, just as on the Pergamene frieze, if these Pergamene figures are they, they are given as deities.

A new and remarkable illustration, or partial illustration of the myth is given by the vessel found at Tanagra (see next page) and published in the *Ephemeris Archaïologike*; <sup>2</sup> its painting, according to M. Tsounta, who describes it, has no mythological meaning at all. But when we compare the action and movement of the figures with those of the combatants on the Louvre amphora and the crater of Ruvo, there can be little doubt that here also is a Gigantomachy; that the mounted youth<sup>3</sup> on the left wearing the Thessalian hat and the long chlamys, and striking downwards at his enemy with his spear, is one of the Dioscuri, and that the other is the warrior on the right who fights on foot, armed with the shield and spear, wearing a cone-shaped hat, and a flowing chlamys around his arm. The deity between them is almost certainly Ares. The character of their antagonists is attested by the wild beasts' skins which some of them carry<sup>4</sup> Now the likeness is striking between that one of the Dioscuri who is seen here on the right and the Pergamene god under *H*; the weapons being the same and the flowing chlamys being common to both. If I have rightly interpreted the Tanagrean work, it supports the conjecture that the figures now in question of the Pergamene frieze are the Dioscuri, and as the painters of the Louvre amphora and the Tanagrean vessel place them near to Ares, so if we admit the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the representation of the twin-brethren on the sarcophagus of the Lateran *Die antike Bildwerke des later. Museums*, Benndorf u. Schöne, 250.

<sup>2</sup> Year 1883, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> The resemblance of this figure to one of the Dioscuri on the Louvre

amphora is most striking and almost conclusive.

<sup>4</sup> They cannot be barbarian warriors, for they carry Hellenic arms, and the figures of some of the giants on the Ruvo vase strangely recall these.



conjecture, it is probable, according to the arrangement mentioned above, that the sculptors of the frieze brought the three deities together.

Now if the great group of the deities that personify the lights of heaven, Selene, Eos and Helios, is to be placed as has been suggested near to the north-east corner, they will be contiguous to the deities in *H* and *I*. If these latter are the Dioscuri we can give reasons why they should be in this vicinity. There seems little doubt, as Welcker has pointed out, that the character of the Dioscuri was originally not heroic but divine; and although Homer knows of them only as mortal yet their worship at Sparta goes back to the aniconic age; in the myths and beliefs that attach to them they appear as half-disguised celestial powers of the light. The greater number of vase-paintings present them indeed simply as heroes; but neither in art nor in literature does their divine nature entirely pass from view, and it emerges clearly again, perhaps through the growing strength of hero-worship, in the fourth century and survives the fall of Greece. On several of the latter vases they appear associated with beings of light and darkness; and the theory that if the Dioscuri were on the Pergamene frieze they were near the group of Helios and his kindred, could be well illustrated by the inscription found on a block from Ancyra, probably the base of two statues of the twins in which the Dioscuri are addressed as *οἱ σύνναοι θεοὶ* of Ζεὺς Ἥλιος Σάραπις.<sup>1</sup> The theory can only be put forward as a perhaps plausible hypothesis; but at present much of the arrangement and most of the interpretation is nothing more than hypothetical.

The right side of the frieze shows us the fragments of a figure armed with a club and clothed with a lion's fell, striding forward towards the last-mentioned giant, and looking back as upon some enemy against whom he is raising his club. It has been but is probably no longer maintained that this is Heracles; the action does not suit such an interpretation, since the fragments seem to speak of a combatant who is defending himself while still retreating.

We may say with certainty that this is a giant, whose costume is arranged so as to remind us of Heracles, just as on a vase published by Millin<sup>2</sup> the fallen giant has a wild beast's fell drawn

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. Ins. Graec.* 4042.

<sup>2</sup> *Galerie Mythologique*, 2, cxx.

over his head in something of the same way as it appears on the head of the Pergamene giant in question. Against what god or goddess is he advancing? Different answers might no doubt be given: a combination that is suitable enough and has been suggested by Signor Freres is that which would place him opposite to the spear-bearing god who is set up in the rotunda of the Museum. But this conjecture is all the more uncertain, as it is not proved that the combatant who bears the spear is a god; his massive flesh and his violent stride suggest that he may be a giant, and it seems certain that however we are to name him, he was advancing before the mule of Selene, since a fragment of a hoof<sup>1</sup> is seen on the right close to his right arm; and it is stated that evidence of the same fact is given by a fragment not long discovered of the head of the mule with the guiding hand of Selene near it.<sup>2</sup> Other fragments belonging, or probably belonging, to the group of Helios have been found, the most important being a serpent's head which was fastening upon his right arm that held the torch. But nothing has as yet been discovered to prove the place of the group, which we might more naturally assign to the east than to the north side, as tradition speaks of the battle beginning at sunrise.

NOTE.—Since the above was written, a discovery has been made at Berlin which is of the utmost importance in the reconstruction of the frieze-work of the altar, but which at present has led to little more than a destruction of a former theory hitherto undisputed. It was officially stated that the group of Hekate occupied the south-east corner, and at the corresponding corner of the south-west Cybele and her nymphs with a crowd of maritime divinities were to be placed in such an order that Cybele appeared at the extreme left of the south side, and Triton and Nereus a little removed from her on the right. Certain gaps in the sequence of the slabs and the lack of any mythological propriety were made of little account in this arrangement of the figures. At the same time it was given out

<sup>1</sup> I had wrongly conjectured that this belonged to the horse of Eos.

<sup>2</sup> There is a fragment, of very fine workmanship, of a goddess who is car-

rying a torch, of which the traces appear on her breast, and who will belong to the company of Helios or Hekate.



that the staircase leading up to the interior of the great altar was on the south side; and it was supposed that the breadth of the steps was about a third of the whole front. Now a small fragment has been found which belongs to the sea-centaur or Triton (fig. *X* in the *Beschreibung der pergamenischen Bildwerke*) and which proves conclusively that Triton as well as Cybele was placed on the right of a corner. But the slabs from Triton onwards towards the right form an uninterrupted series of reliefs which covered both the left wing of the side broken by the staircase, and the left wall of the staircase itself on which the length of the frieze figures diminishes as the steps rise. Now as Cybele is not among those figures, and she like Triton is on the right of a corner, it follows that, wherever else on the frieze she is to be placed, she is far removed from the neighbourhood of the sea-divinities. But more than this follows from the new discovery: we already knew the figure that stood at the right corner of the left wing of this broken front, the figure of Amphitrite (slab *V*), and as the figure of Triton is now found to be at the left corner of this same wing we have now an exact measurement of the length of this wing, and as the girth of the square altar has already been almost exactly fixed, we can estimate now the breadth of the staircase, which is considerably broader than was believed. The wing on its right must have been of the same length as the left; and as regards the figures upon it one thing is almost certain—that the figure at the extreme left of this right wing was Bacchus; but are we able to place in his vicinity, as the theory before maintained would place, the numerous goddesses in the following of Hekate? It is a question of measurement which to be precise must be made on the spot. But a very rough calculation of the slabs will show that when we have made room for the antagonist of Dionysos, we shall have exceeded the limited space of this wing if we join to this group the goddesses in *A* and *B*. The deities therefore of the lower world have no connection with Dionysos on the frieze. But the question with whom he is to be grouped is nevertheless not quite an open question, for until it can be shown that the Pergamene sculptors in grouping the deities abandoned the long-established principle of mythological or religious affinity, and as long as the various sets of slabs where the sequence is certain display this principle clearly, we

are obliged to follow it in suggesting a restoration, and we may even hold it to be a securer criterion than is the place where the fragments were actually found. Now we can fall back on the only alternative suggestion that he should be placed with Cybele, in such a way that while he is at the left extremity of this wing the latter, who we know to be on a corner-slab, shall be round the adjoining corner.



This is indeed impossible, if the cortège of nymphs on the left of Cybele is as long as it appears to be on the sequence of slabs (*T* to *U* 3) assumed by the official *Beschreibung* (1883, page 18). But this sequence admits of no proof and is not now defended.

If the figures under *T* and *U*<sub>1</sub> are brought round the corner and set on the right of Cybele (for they seem to belong to her following), then there is room on the wing for Dionysos and his missing opponent and the goddess with the lion and the fallen giant (*U*<sub>2</sub> and *U*<sub>3</sub>). We know that her figure was placed at the left of a corner, and according to the present arrangement she is at the right extremity of this right wing; and now if we allow for a slab on which her antagonist was placed, this sequence of figures will fill a length of frieze-work almost the same as the given length of the left wing, and certainly not exceeding it. Dionysos will be assisted in the combat by the lions of the great goddess, the cognate character of the two deities will be marked as it is marked on a terra-cotta relief<sup>1</sup> on which the forms of Maenads are placed round the throne of Cybele, and this part of the frieze will show the influence and some of the forms of oriental Greek worship.

L. R. FARNELL.

<sup>1</sup> Furtwängler, Sabouroff Coll. v. cxxvii.

## INSCRIPTIONS COPIED BY COCKERELL IN GREECE.

I HAVE been requested to examine a MS. collection, bound in two volumes, and entitled *MS. Inscriptions collected in Greece by C. R. Cockerell, 1810-14*.<sup>1</sup> A fuller description of the contents is added on the title page, apparently by the hand of the collector himself—*'Inscriptions collected in various parts of Greece by C. R. Cockerell, from the year 1810-14; they were copied from the original manuscripts in this form by Signor Amati, in Rome, in 1815, and examined by Mr. Akcrblad, who made all the notes and corrections in red ink. Mr. Walpole has made copies of those marked "Ct.," and has noted those already in print.'* It is evident, therefore, that we have here documents of considerable importance, especially as all trace of the original manuscripts referred to has been lost. Signor Amati, the transcriber, seems to have done his work with great care and accuracy, even the forms of letters being, in most cases, faithfully preserved. A comparison with other independent transcriptions from the same originals will soon show that we may rely on his copying; where mistakes occur, they are almost always such as would arise from indistinctness on the stone itself. This statement is of importance, for other transcribers, whether

<sup>1</sup> [On the occasion of one of his lectures at University College, Mr. Newton asked his auditors to let him see any MS. collections of inscriptions lying in private possession of which they might be aware, such collections having been commonly made by English travellers in past times, and often merely laid aside. As a result of this request, Mrs. Frederick Cockerell sent

to Mr. Newton the collection here described of inscriptions copied by her father-in-law, Mr. C. R. Cockerell. The laborious and somewhat unattractive task of investigating whether these inscriptions were unpublished, or whether they amended existing texts, was undertaken, on behalf of the editors of this journal, by Mr. E. A. Gardner. Ed.]

independent or immediately deriving their material from this book, often show a carelessness which can easily be corrected by a reference to it, and which has, in many cases, affected the copies preserved in the *Corpus* itself.

The book contains 240 inscriptions in all, of which some fifty, probably, are as yet unpublished. This computation may have to be modified, but is confirmed by a more careful search for the earlier ones. The rest afford considerable material for correction of the copies preserved in the *Corpus* and elsewhere, but are hardly, in most cases, worth separate publication.<sup>1</sup> They enable us, also, to check the accuracy of copies derived immediately from this book, especially those of Walpole; and such a check is by no means superfluous. For instance, in *C.I.G.* 391, derived from Walpole, common forms are given throughout; in this book we find ΑΑ, Δ, λ, Ζ, Γ; again, in *C.I.G.* 464, the distinctive forms Α, ε, λ, ς, ω, are completely lost. One more instance under this head may suffice. In *C.I.G.* 1593, Walpole represents Cockerell as giving ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝΤΑ . . . ΟΔΑΝ; he really has ΒΟΙΩΤΟΝΤΑ . . . ΤΟΔΑΑΝ, thus being nearer to the true reading Βοιωτοὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἀνέθεικαν; here, in ΩΝ, Walpole has given as resting on good authority a false and misleading emendation, which is written in red ink above the line in Cockerell's book. It is therefore clear that a careful collation is advisable in the case of all inscriptions in the *Corpus* derived from this source.

Another question arises which cannot be fully answered until more of our material has been published. Many English travellers of the beginning of the present century seem to have examined this book of Cockerell's; Akerblad, Walpole, and Leake, have all left traces of their revision in it; and some of these drew from it the inscriptions which they published. How far others may have done the same is not yet clear; but in *C.I.G.* 1707, for instance, a transcription quoted in the *Corpus* as made directly by Hughes from the stone, shows too many correspondences, even in mistakes, with Cockerell's version for us to believe the two versions are independent. In l. 6, for instance, Hughes gives ΑΝΕΙΛΗΠΤΟΝ for ΑΝΕΦΑΠΤΟΝ: now Cockerell has ΑΝΕΙΑΠΤΟΝ, differing only from the true reading

<sup>1</sup> A collation with published copies has been made in the case of all not here reproduced.

by the omission of part of the  $\phi$  : but over the line is written the very emended form given by Hughes in his copy. This fact, which is not isolated, tends to throw serious doubts on the independent value of such copies. Perhaps it will be worth while later to return to this question; for the present, this indication will suffice.

Specimens follow of such inscriptions as are new, and, therefore, worthy of reproduction; some are included which materially increase already published inscriptions. These specimens comprise all that were found upon the mainland of Greece, and are taken from the first sixty examples in Cockerell's book. A complete list of these follows. An asterisk is placed against those reproduced below.

1 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 336	23 = Le Bas and Wad.	40 = Le Bas and Wad.
2 = " 373	II. 12	II. 806
3 = " 471	(24 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 2139)	41 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 1620
*4 Unpublished <sup>1</sup>	25 = Le Bas and Wad.	42 = " 1608
*5 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 300	II. 453	43 = " 1689
6 = " 464	*26 Unpublished	44 = " 1715
7 = " 177	*27 "	45 = " 1721
*8 Unpublished	*28 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 1632	46 = " 1694
9 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 830	29 = " 1579	47 = " 1716
*10 Unpublished	30 = " 1663	48 = " 1707
11 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 917	31 = " 1564	49 = " 1764
12 = " 653	32 = " 1593	50 = " 1297
13 = " 660	33 Rang. <i>Ant. Hell.</i> 1315.	*51 Unpublished
14 = Kumanudes, 3251	34 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 1574	*52 "
15 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 958	35 = Le Bas and Wad.	*53 "
16 = " 808	II. 603	54 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 1501
17 = " 610	36 = Le Bas and Wad.	55 = " 1504
*18 Unpublished	II. 601	56 = " 1187
19 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 438	37 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 1628	57 = " 1186
*20 Unpublished	38 = " 1595	58 = " 1184
21 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 386	39 = " 1596	59 = " 1183
22 = " 391		60 = " 1185

Before proceeding to the inscriptions themselves, I need only add that a few marks, both in pencil and red ink, are

<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions not to be found in the new or old *Corpus*, in Le Bas and Waddington, in Kumanudes' *Sepulchral Inscriptions*, in Rangabé's *Antiquités Helléniques*, &c., are here treated as unpublished. I have also referred

to periodicals, where I had any clew to guide me; but a complete and systematic search through all these would have been laborious and almost impracticable.

found in the book as well as Amati's copies: but these are seldom, if ever, more than obvious restorations, and do not seem to have any authority from the original manuscripts, or other sources. Signor Amati has sometimes recorded in Italian both the place of finding and other details; these have been, in every case, reproduced below. Inconsistencies in his copies, especially when two forms of a letter occur in the same inscription, have also been as far as possible preserved.

4. ΖΩΣΙΜΗΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥΜΙΛΗΣΙΑ  
ΦΩΚΙΩΝΟΣΟΤΡΥΝΕΩΣΕΥΝΗ

*Ζωσίμη Καλλινίκου Μιλησία*  
*Φωκίωνος Ὀτρυνέως [γ]υνή*

The name *Ζωσίμη* seems to have been common among Milesians; cf. *C.I.G.* 711, 712, 714. For the question whether Miletus ranked as a deme of Athens, and the Milesians as Athenian citizens, cf. Boeckh, *ibid.* 692. A discussion of more recent opinions upon the subject is given by Mr. Hicks (*Brit. Mus. Inscriptions*, I. p. 150). It seems that Milesians, though very numerous at Athens, had no peculiar rights of citizenship; even the form of the inscription, with the local name in the fem. nom. instead of the masc. gen., to agree with the father's name, would be unusual for an Attic deme. Intermarriages such as that here recorded have been adduced as evidence for the Athenian citizenship of Milesians, but the balance of authority seems to be on the other side.

5. This is identical with *C.I.G.* 300, but preserves so much more of the original that it seems worth while to add a new transcription.

*In tre corone:—*

ΑΘΥΣ

Δ : : Σ

ΥΜΙΣ

ΠΟ/ ΙΣ

ΠΛ<sup>Α</sup>ΙΑΝΟΣ

ΑΧΛ . ΝΕΥΣ

ΑΧΑΡΝΟΥ

ΟΞΕΝΟΣ	ΒΑΚΧΙΟΣ	ΔΙΟΣ
ΔΑΛΩΝΙΟΣ	ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ.	ΣΤΗΙ: ΟΣ
ΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ	ΔΗΜΟΣC=Λ : ::	ΚΛΞΙΔΙ
ΛΩΝΙΑΣ	ΛΟΥΥΣΙΟΣ	ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ
Υ=ΙΣ	Ξ:ΞΡΙΟΣ	Χ: ΔΟΦΩΝ.
ΟΣ	Ι: Ε: :: ::	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ
ΛΩΝΟΣ	ΦΙΛΑ-Ι: ΟΣ	ΞΓΙΚΤΑΣ
ΜΕΝΟΣ	ΣΕΡΑΠΙC . .	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ
=	ΙΣΑΣ	ΑΜΑΡΑΝΤΟΣ
ΛΑΣ	ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ	ΛΥΚΟΣ
ΩΝ	ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΔΗΣ	ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ
ΣΙΟΣ	ΑΞΙΟΣ ΗΡΑΚΑΣ	ΝΙΚΩΝ
ΦΟΓΓ.	ΙΞΙΚΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ.	

*Nel giardino della κύρα Κουτρικου.*

(*Sic*; altered in pencil to κυρά Κοτ—.)

The dotted line indicates the amount extant in the *C.I.G.* copy. It will be observed that in one case λ, in two Α is given, probably by mistake.

If the inscriptions in the three wreaths belong to the text below them, they may help to explain these mere catalogues, of which several occur in the *Corpus*. In the second wreath we have Δ.....ς Πο[...]ς 'Αχαρνεύς; in the third, —ς Πωλλίανος 'Αχαρν[ε]ύ[ς]. In the new columns are clear the names

Φιλ } ] ὄξενος, 'Απ]ολλώνιος, Σωσ]ίπατρος, 'Απολ]λώνι[ο]ς.  
 Δημ }

The rest are too fragmentary for probable restoration. Turning next to the part preserved also in the *Corpus*, we find, in the left column l. 1, the conjecture Βάκχιος confirmed; in l. 5 the -ος confirms again Boeckh's emendation. In l. 9 we find 'Ισᾶς for 'Ισίας. In l. 7 Cockerell's transcript suggests Φιλάδελφος; this is confirmed by 'Αδελφός in l. 6 of *C.I.G.*, if one may assume a confusion of the two lines.

In the right column we find, l. 6, the form 'Απολλώνιος, and in 10, Λύκος quite clear, thus confirming Boeckh's emendation in both cases.

8. ΙΣΜΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ : ΑΓΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ  
ΚΛΑΙΟΜΕΝΙΟΣ

Θε]σμόςβουλος [Ἀπ]ολλοδώρου  
Κλαζομένιος.

The form of ζ, ι, indicates an earlier period; also, probably, ρ, which has often, in other cases, been mistaken for γ by the transcriber.

10. ΤΟΒΟΥΛΗ

ΣΣΠΙΚΗ

Ἀρισ]τοβούλη  
Θε]σ(?)σπική

If the second word be rightly restored, we have here a peculiar form of the adjective. For the ΣΣ, on the accuracy of which, however, too much stress must not be laid, cf. Boeckh on *C.I.G.* 25. Such doubling is found both in Attic and Boeotian inscriptions.

18. ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ

ΠΟΡΙΟΣ

Ἱεροκλῆς  
Πόριος.

Poros is a deme of the tribe Akamantis.

Above this is written 'Vaso,' by the original copyist. This probably means that the inscription was on one of the marble lekythi often found on tombs in Attika.

This, and all that precede it, seem to come from Athens.

20. Apparently from Eleusis; those before and after it certainly are so; and geographical order is usually preserved.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΔΟΙ:ΝΑΝ

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΑ:ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΥ

ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΥΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ

ΠΕΡΤΙΝΑΚΟΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ

ΑΡΑΒΙΚΟΥΑΔΖΑΒΗΝΙΚΟΥ

ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΜΗΤΕΡΑΚΑΣΤΡΩΝ

ΗΠΟΛΙΣ

Ἰουλίαν Δόμναν

Σεβαστήν Λ[ε.] Σεπτιμίου



Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς  
Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ  
Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδ[ι]αβηνικοῦ  
γυναῖκα Μητέρα Κάστρων  
ἡ πόλις.

This string of titles of Septimius Severus is found pretty frequently repeated. Julia Domna's last title is found both in this merely transliterated form, and also in the translated one, *Μήτηρ στρατοπέδων*.

26. 'In Platea,' written over 25, but probably applies to this also, which is transcribed immediately underneath. λ and Λ, Δ and Δ, occur with strange inconsistency in the copy.

ΤΙΣ ΠΛΑΤΑΙΑΝ ΣΥΛΗΣΕΝΤΙΕΨΛΕΣΕΝ ΟΡΜΟΝ . ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ  
ΣΚΕΠΤΙΑΝΗΝ Π.ΩΓΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΙΝΟΝΙ . . ΦΙΛΟΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ  
ΟΥΝΕΚΕΝΕΝ ΠΑΡΑΔΙΣΩΣΥ . ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙΣ Λ . ΧΕΚΛΗΡΟΝ  
ΑΥΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΣΕΙΟΙ . ΟΝΔΕΛΙΨΙΤΟΤΑΦΟΝ  
ΕΞΑΘΕΣΡ . . Ρ . ΤΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΤΟΛΙΣ

Τίς Πλάταιαν σύλησεν, τίς ὧλεσεν ὄρμον ἀπάντων  
Σκεπτιάνην Π[ρ]ῶ[τ]εὺς φιλόξεινον [καὶ] φιλόχριστον  
οὐνεκεν ἐν Παραδίσω συ[ν] ἀθανάτοις λ[ά]χε κλῆρον  
αὐτῇ καὶ πόσει σοὶ [τ]όνδ' ἐ[δέμε]το τάφον.

— Διῶνυσόδωρος φιλόπτολις

'Who robbed Platea, who destroyed that refuge of all Skeptiane, daughter of Protes, friend to strangers and to Christ? Since she hath won a portion with the immortals in Paradise, for herself, and thee, husband, she built this tomb.'

If the restoration ἐδέμετο in l. 4 is right, it is scarcely harsher than Πλάταιαν, φιλόξεινον. We might read ἐπονείτο, or some such word, but this would depart further from our copy. The pentameter following three hexameters is hardly unusual. Other obvious irregularities of scansion hardly call for remark in such an inscription.

27. Perhaps still Platea; at any rate Boeotia, as the next is 'in Tebe.'

ΓΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ

ΑΣ)

ΙΚΙΑΝΟCΖΩΠΥΡΟΥ

ΑΛΚΟΜΕΝΕΙC

5.

ΛΥΚΟC)

ΟC

ΙΕΙΑΙΤΙΩΝ

ΑΡΚΟΥΝΤΟCΔΕΗΝΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤC

ΡΟΔΕΙCΟΥΕΦΗΒΕΥCΑΝΜΕΤΑΦΙ

10. ΠΟΡ · ΓΜΑΜΛΕΝΟΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΝ

ΟΥ . . . ΤΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΚΛΙΟC.

Not much seems intelligible beyond the words, l. 8, δὲ ἤν ἀγωνοθέτ[η]ς; l. 9, ἐφήβευσαν; l. 4, Ἀλ]αλκομενεῖς, and the proper names; l. 1, Π]αμφίλου; l. 3, Ζωπύρου; l. 5, Λύκος; l. 9, (?) Ἀφ]ροδισ[ί]ου; l. 11, Φιλοκράτης.

In l. 7, one is reminded of the formula 'τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἀ]εὶ αἰτίων[γενομένων];' but this has not otherwise the appearance of a complimentary inscription.

28. *C.I.G.* 1632.

Cockerell gives a line, wanting to the sense which is absent in the *C.I.G.*; l. 1, | inserted after second Λ; l. 3, the | supplied after the first Τ in *C.I.G.* is given by Cockerell; between l. 4, and l. 5.

ΔΗΜΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΑΠ

Thus we read the whole

...άλλιος Φαν  
στεῖνος δόγμα  
τι βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ  
δήμου ἄριστα π[ο]  
λειτευσάμε  
νον.

The fourth line seems to have been dropped from the letter Δ apparently beginning both it and l. 5.

51. This and also 52, are immediately beneath an inscription found 'in Messene.'

ΥΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ  
ΚΙΠΠΙΔΑ  
Να]υσίνικος  
Γλαν }  
'Αλ } ] κιππίδα.

52. See 51.

ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ  
Σωσικράτης  
'Αριστοκλής

53.

1. ΝΙΚΟΔΑ  
:Ι

ΣΩΣΙΚΙ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕ

5. ΠΥΡΙΛΑΜΠΟ  
ΕΙΦΙΛΙΝΟΣΞΕ

ΨΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ  
ΣΦΚ  
ΑΒΗΤΟΣ

10. ΧΙΜΕΝΗΣ  
ΙΣΩΝΔΑΜΙΝΟΣ  
ΩΝ

ΚΑΛΑΙΣ'Ι,Α  
ΙΣΟΔΑΜΟΣΦΙΑ

15. Κ  
ΡΑΤΟΚΛΗΞ  
ΜΕΝΙΩΝ ΚΑΛΑ  
ΣΙΛΑΣ.

ΚΛΟΥ  
ΔΑΜΑΡΙ  
ΩΣΙΚΙΑΣ  
ΙΚΑΥΩ  
ΑΥ

Clearly a mere catalogue of names.

1. 1. Νικόδα[μος.
1. 3. Σωσικ[ράτης.
1. 4. 'Αριστομέ[νης.
1. 5. Πυρίλαμπο[ς.
1. 6. Φιλί[νος.

- l. 7. Κτ]ησικράτης, Σωσίπατρος.
- l. 10. Ἄλκ]ιμένης.
- l. 11. Δαμῖνος
- l. 13. Καλαῖς,
- l. 14. Ἰσόδαμος.
- l. 16. Ἐρατοκλῆς.
- l. 18. Κρη]σίλας.

This, probably, also belongs to Messene, as it follows immediately on 51 and 52. 54 was found 'in Sparta.'

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

## THE AESCHYLEAN TREATMENT OF MYTH AND LEGEND.

### A SKETCH IN OUTLINE.

IT is the part of sound criticism to beware of rashly assuming tendencies of any kind in dramatic poetry. The imaginative act of realising situation and character requires no end beyond itself. The faculty is satisfied with its own mere exercise; which may be as widely varied as the fables on which it works, or as human experience itself. If in single dramatists we find certain limitations, or an apparent preference for a particular class of subjects, we must not rush to hasty conclusions, but should distinguish as far as possible between accidental and essential differences, the former depending on the subject-matter which either chance or popularity threw in the artist's way, as jealousy for example in the Spanish drama, the latter resulting from the colour of his own thoughts, and his individual attitude (as an artist) towards the universe and towards mankind.

The power of Aeschylus as a mere dramatist is so great, that the neglect of such precautions is, if possible, more than usually disastrous to the study of him; while on the other hand, they are more than ever necessary in his case, because certain important tendencies, both of the man and of the age, are so apparent in him. In attempting, therefore, to characterise some of these underlying motives, it is necessary to warn the reader at the outset against expecting anything like a complete description or survey. Such motives are very far from accounting for that complex phenomenon, the Aeschylean drama. At most they do but constitute one of several factors that have worked together with the supreme dramatic instinct in the creation of it. Nor shall we be tempted by any theory into the error of supposing that the same motives are to be traced everywhere.

Variety is the chief note of the highest invention, and though few chords remain to us of the Aeschylean lyre, they are suggestive of a widely ranging plectrum.—Readers of the *Eumenides* or of the *Prometheus*, however, cannot help surmising an intention of the poet standing behind his creation. And although such a mode of regarding these two masterpieces has often been pressed too far, and has sometimes landed the student in barren enough fancies, yet it is an aspect of them which cannot be ignored, and when reasonably investigated may throw some light even on the poet's other dramas.

Some obvious facts about Aeschylus may be further premised.

That the victory at Marathon in which his youth took part, and that of Salamis, which he has celebrated, had a deep and inspiring influence upon his genius, is abundantly clear. Nor is it less manifest, that the idea which these triumphs represented for him was the glory of Hellas, and of Athens as the eye of Hellas.

Another fact relating to his mental history is sufficiently attested by the line of Aristophanes (*Ran.* 886), *Δήμητερ, ἡ θρέψασα τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα*.

The Marathonian soldier, the Hellenic and Athenian patriot, the Eleusinian devotee—here are three notes of Aeschylean inspiration which in general terms we may confidently affirm, and from which we may hope for guidance in looking deeper.

Nor is there any doubt about the soldierly and patriotic notes;—above all, in the play which Aristophanes justly describes as 'full of the spirit of Ares,'<sup>1</sup> the *Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας*. The character and situation of Eteocles in that drama, moving onward to his fore-destined doom, yet heroically caring for the good of his country; the successive pictures of the seven warriors and the chiefs opposed to them, the splendid eulogy on Amphiaras—all this is calculated, as hardly anything could be, to make 'honour's thought reign solely in the breast of every man.' It is where the patriot and the devotee are mingled, that the difficulty of understanding Aeschylus begins.

<sup>1</sup> *δρῆμα... Ἀρείως μετόν.*—*Ar. Ran.* 1022.

I. Let us turn, then, to the *Eumenides*, where the combined presence of these two motives is most evident. The religious and political significance of the drama has already been amply drawn out by K. O. Müller. Without resuming his observations, it will be enough to state simply the leading thought which is suggested by the drama itself, or rather by the Oresteian trilogy (which it concludes) when taken as a whole.

All great poetry idealises something, and imagination, especially the tragic imagination, ever delights in contrast. Now in most periods the contrasted ideal has been imagined as remote either in time or place, or both, and the poet has been either visionary or reactionary (according as he placed his good either in the future or the past), or, thirdly, pessimistic, as in the poetry of regret or of despair. Hesiod sings of a lost golden age, and in this he represents the most pervading sentiment of ancient culture. Dante, on the other hand, had fixed his gaze on 'one far off divine event, towards which the whole Creation moves.' But there have been two moments, and perhaps only two, when the highest imagination found its ideal in the actual present, as seen in the light of wonder, joy, and love; the opening of the fifth century B.C. in Hellas, and the earlier years of Elizabeth in England. In this respect there is an affinity between poets otherwise so different as Aeschylus and Spenser. And for other expressions of this feeling in the England of that day, it is enough to allude in passing to the Prologue of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, especially the lines (Gorlois' ghost is speaking):—

'For you there rests

A happier age, a thousand years to come;  
An age for peace, religion, wealth, and ease,  
When all the world shall wonder at your bliss,  
That, that is yours;'

and to Shakespeare's description of 'this most balmy time' in his one hundred and seventh sonnet:—

'The mortal moon hath her eclipse endured,  
And the sad augurs mock their own presage;  
Incertainties now crown themselves assured,  
And peace proclaims olives of endless age.'

But that which to the Elizabethans was a romantic sentiment, had for Aeschylus all the depth and force of a religion, and of a religion resting on eternal principles of righteousness and truth. His fervour is even of a nobler kind than that which the Pericles of Thucydides seeks to inculcate. (See especially the words *τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξη εἶναι, ἐνθυμούμενους, κ.τ.λ.* Thuc. ii. 435.) For the essential glory of Athens symbolises for him the secret of all happiness for Hellas, and for mankind.

Where then, it may be asked, is the opportunity for contrast, if the present is your ideal? It lies in holding up to view the confusions of a remote or of a former world: a world not yet reduced to order, in which righteousness is only inchoate and often overborne by wrong, in which wisdom is oppressed and not triumphant, in which mercy and reverence are still debatable; or again a realm in which the many are enslaved, and the latent energies of a great people have not been developed by freedom. Hence the scenes of Aeschylus are laid in remote ages and remote lands, or even in a pre-Olympian heaven.

And that which most fascinates his imagination in dwelling on mythology and legend is the contrast between past evil and present good. What gave to Hellas the assurance of strength, of blessedness, of the continuance of national well-being and of individual life? The glory of free and law-abiding Athens. What gave to Athens her true glory? The principles of reasonableness, equity and mercy, which lay at the foundation of her special institutions, and were associated with the worship of Zeus, Athena, and Apollo.

Now it is on this contrast between the glorious present and the legendary horrors of a remote past, that much of the interest of the great trilogy is made to turn. But Aeschylus is not contented with the imagined antithesis: the poet, who is also a religious *ἐξηγητής*, points further to a positive relation between the contrasted terms. For in his philosophy, as in that of Heraclitus, order comes out of disorder, peace is fathered by war, and equity is preluded by the 'wild justice' of revenge. And of course this primæval moral chaos, in which elemental passions clash and rave, gives to the tragic muse her proper



opportunity, the same of which Shakspeare availed himself in Lear and in Macbeth.

I trust I may not be understood as ignoring or extenuating the magnificent dramatic power which constitutes the eternal charm of the *Oresteia*, if I trace in it the inspiration of this ground idea. It is because Aeschylus is himself and not another, because he is poet, prophet, citizen and soldier in one, that I maintain as partially applicable to him, a method which has often proved fatal to dramatic criticism.

The accumulated horrors of the house of Pelops, from the *πρώταρχος ἄτη* of Atreus or of Thyestes onwards, have their culmination and coping-stone in the matricide of Orestes. Hitherto the law of retribution has prevailed—the *τρίγερων μῦθος, δράσαντι παθεῖν*. All has been 'action and reaction.' And over this law the *Ἐρινύες* have presided. So Clytemnestra and Aegisthus justified the murder of Agamemnon. So Orestes and Electra justify that of Clytemnestra. And in the vista of human memory there is a long train of similar acts, each accompanied by a similar plea: the sin of Paris visited on Troy, the sin of Atreus horribly avenged by Thyestes, the sin of Pelops against Myrtilus atoned by all that followed. But now it begins to be revealed that the Erinyes themselves may be convicted of transgressing the bound. A vision of equity, of regulated and reasoned justice, at length appears, and is embodied in Athenian institutions by the act of Athena. The Erinyes are transformed to the Eumenides, and remain for blessing not for cursing, as guardians of Athenian weal. All acts both private and public, so long as they are done in truth and equity, are henceforth under the protection of the Gentle Powers.

I do not pause here upon the question whether or not the *Eumenides* was written at a time when the privileges of the Areopagus were threatened. For it appears to me that in any case the poet's eye was fixed on a far simpler and far nobler theme, viz. on equity as the corner-stone of civilisation, and therefore as the secret of Athenian glory, and the security of all in Hellenic life that made it worth living. Thus it is not only the contrast between past and present, about which the poet's imagination plays, but the illustration, and in some sense the explanation of the present by the imagined past on which his speculative

genius broods. Nor is the present when so illustrated, the present merely, but exemplifies the true condition of all nations through all time.

In the *Persae* also there is an illustrative contrast, not now between past and present, but between East and West. The *Persae* is no doubt a pæan of victory, but it is also more. For the highest Greek genius of that age could not look upon events with mere selfish personal reference, although the self were co-extensive with all Hellas, nor without a comprehensive glance over all time and all existence. With the same disinterested objectivity which is so striking in Herodotus, but with more of sympathetic insight, Aeschylus enters within the heart of the great empire: so realising the pride of Atossa, incredulous of defeat, the devotion of the elders to their Emperor, the holy reverence of the faithful for Darius 'of blessed memory,' the personal dependence of the whole state upon Xerxes.

But while thus feasting the Athenian imagination with the moving panorama of a world so alien from the Hellenic mind, he is all the while pointing to the lesson which Herodotus also draws from the triumph of Athens: ἡ ἰσηγορίη ὥς ἐστι χρῆμα σπουδαῖον.<sup>1</sup> The magnificent image of paternal despotism was sure to endear to his Athenian audience those free institutions and that respect for 'King Law,' under which they had conquered the Mede and saved Hellas—while it also enlarged their thoughts through the genial and sympathetic contemplation of an alien and a hostile world.

Hitherto, although in the *Eumenides* we have dwelt on mysteries, and in the *Persae* a visitant from Hades comes upon the scene, the subjects of the plays considered have belonged to the human sphere. But in the *Prometheus* we are carried altogether away from man: except that it is for befriending the whole human race that the suffering god is bound with that chain.

And excepting Io, who is the ancestress of Heracles, and is no longer altogether human, the persons in the *Prometheus* are all of the celestial mould. This circumstance of itself makes it excusable to look for a 'tendency' behind the action. Abstrac-

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. v. 78.

tions such as Strength and Force are not brought upon the stage except to read some lesson. And after what has been said, it will be easily understood that Aeschylus is not merely the dramatist here, but also the prophet. The lesson may now be read in the light of the preceding observations.<sup>1</sup>

There is again a contrast between that consummate reign of right and wisdom in which Aeschylus believes as the actual source of all existing good, and a far distant past, which is figured as a time of spiritual chaos, in which not only the elemental passions of humanity, but the very elements of deity, were not yet harmonised, but conflicting and opposed. Rumours of change and succession, even in that supreme region, seemed to come down in the cosmogonies and theogonies of early mythology, embodied, for example, in the works of Hesiod and Pherecydes; and the story of Prometheus was felt to convey the echoes of a time, when Zeus himself was not a beneficent

<sup>1</sup> See a letter from the present writer to the editor of the *Academy*, printed July 14, 1877. The following sentences, in which the gist of the *Prometheus* is paraphrased, may be quoted here:—

‘There was a time when the power of Zeus, which, as all know, is now established in righteousness, was not yet finally secure. In accordance with the presage of Themis, Goddess of Eternal Right, the son of Cronos had been victorious over the Anarchs of the former time, not by brute violence, but by the help of forethought, which the Titans had despised. But, having won the heavenly throne, he was liable to the disease which all experience shows to be incident to an irresponsible ruler, and began to exercise his power without regard to the Wisdom by whose aid he had gained it, or the dictates of Primeval Right; and towards mortals in particular (as ancient legends show us), he manifested an excessive harshness. But to these courses the irrepressible spirit of Wisdom was opposed, and succeeded in obtaining gifts for men and rescuing them from the destruction which the new Sovereign of Olympus

had designed for them.

‘So long as this opposition and divorce between power, or authority, and wisdom was continued, the sovereignty of Zeus was imperilled. For blind force breeds blind force, and is destined to sink beneath the violence to which itself gives birth. So the Fates were heard to whisper.

‘On the other hand, had the contrariety remained, Wisdom must have been held in lasting bonds. For Thought unseconded by Energy is ineffectual.

‘But Wisdom knew the secret word which solitary Power had failed to apprehend, and Necessity at last made Power submit to learn the Truth from Wisdom. Thus Zeus was saved from fatal error (*Cf. Eum.* 640—651).

‘Then the long feud was reconciled, and an indissoluble league concluded between Wisdom and Power, and they went forth conquering and to conquer. Thenceforth the reign of Zeus became identical with that growth of Justice which is destined ultimately to subdue all moral discords throughout the Universe.’—The *Academy* of April 14, 1877.

but a malignant ruler. It was indeed the outcome of an age when men's conception of the Highest was a creature of their fear. We know from the story of Mycerinus,<sup>1</sup> and from the words attributed to Solon<sup>2</sup> (τὸ θεῖον—πάν φθονερὸν καὶ παραχῶδες), that such conceptions had been powerful in former ages, and had been revived and accentuated afresh by Ionian pessimism. The myth of Prometheus, in particular, presented a special aspect of this mode of thought, expressing the superstitious dread with which a rude conservatism regards the inventor, as one who by sheer force of mind transcends the limits appointed to the human lot, and makes the divine powers of nature subservient to human need; who is ready in his arrogance to give a charge to the lightnings, and expect them to say to him, 'Here we are.' Possibly, but this point I leave to professed mythologists, the special form of the myth may have been occasioned by the horror of some fire-worshipper at seeing his god put to menial use. In any case the myth belonged to a mode of thinking which the Athenian imagination had outgrown.<sup>3</sup> Now the mind has various modes of dealing with such survivals of an outworn creed. Abstract philosophy would have said, 'the story is not true.' A new lawgiver might have exclaimed, 'Ye shall no longer use this proverb in your land.' But that is not the method of Aeschylus, the imaginative seer. He says, in effect, 'This happened under an earlier dispensation. But it involved an opposition which could not last. For power rejecting wisdom must come to nought, and wisdom rebelling against power is fettered and manacled. Omnipotence, to be eternal, must be at one with wisdom and beneficence, in a word must be just. And because power, alone and unaccompanied, is brittle and transient, wisdom and beneficence are co-eternal with almighty power.'

We should inquire too curiously if we thought it necessary to trace this motive (supposing it assumed) in every feature of the extant play, or if we supposed that it must have been explicitly set forth even in the *Prometheus Unbound*. Indeed, it may never have been consciously formulated by the poet himself. But it may be maintained nevertheless to have been immanent in the part-dramatic, part-mythological creation,

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. ii. 129, ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* i. 32.

<sup>3</sup> See for example, Soph. *Ant.* 332,

π. πολλά τὰ δεινὰ, κ.τ.λ.

through which the sublime thought of Aeschylus was communicated to the child-like imagination of his contemporaries from a height that was very far above them. We do trace a consciousness of the truth that Zeus himself could not rule for ever without conforming to the eternal law, which is one with the decree of fate;<sup>1</sup> and at the height of the conflict between the untamable spirit of the Titan and his oppressor, we are made to know that a reconciliation is to be, that the words of Prometheus,<sup>2</sup>

εἰς ἄρθρον ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλότῃτα  
σπεύδων σπεύδοντι ποθ' ἤξει,

are not an empty vaunt.

The absolute fearlessness with which the poet, when the conception has once been formed, throws himself into a situation so abhorrent to the religious associations of the Hellenes, is not only characteristic of Aeschylus, but also marks an interesting aspect of Greek religion generally.<sup>3</sup> The same people who went mad about the mutilation of the Hermæ could revel in such free handling of mythology as that of the comic poets.

This is strange until we reflect that while religious *custom* lay upon them with a weight as deep as life, and was inseparably associated with their national well-being, the changing clouds of mythology lay lightly on their minds, and were, in their very nature, to some extent, the sport of fancy and imagination.

(Themis, in the *Prometheus*, line 209, is identical with Gaia; in the *Eumenides*, line 3, she is her daughter, who at Delphi, took her mother's seat, &c.)

Nor would the faith in the everlasting reign of Zeus in righteousness be shaken by the imagination of a time when he ruled harshly, being young in power. Rather it was the child-like certitude of the popular faith, that made it possible for the poet thus to inculcate a higher truth. It would be extremely interesting, but the fragments of the Lysurgean trilogy do not supply materials for the purpose, to inquire whether Aeschylus had conceived of a change in the spirit of Dionysus analogous to that here attributed to Zeus. It may be imagined, for example, that the magnificent fragment of the *Edonians*, (55 Dind.),

<sup>1</sup> *Prom.* V. 516.

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. E. Myers in *Hellenica*,  
p. 21, ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 191, 192.

descriptive of a super-human revelry in which were heard the *ταυρόφθογγοι ποθὲν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς φοβεροὶ μῖμοι*, may have been part of a representation of an earlier and cruder phase of the life of Bacchus, to be succeeded by a *σώφρων βακχεία*, a subdued and temperate enthusiasm.

## II. To pass on now from mythology to legend.

History, no less than mythology, was to some extent the sport of imagination. At least the tradition of events which through lapse of ages had reached up into the fabulous, as Thucydides says, offered much plastic material to the poet's hand. Versions of the same event as different as those of the Arthurian romance in T. Hughes' <sup>1</sup> tragedy, Sir T. Mallory's prose, and Tennyson's *Idylls*, co-existed and afforded opportunity for choice—and also gave an excuse for invention, for if two or three ways were permissible, another yet might be equally near the truth. In the sphere of history, as elsewhere, invention was not yet separated from discovery.

From the fragmentariness of our knowledge it is impossible to say with perfect confidence in particular instances, 'the poet invented this or that.' Leaving the question doubtful between invention and selection, we must be contented with ascertaining the poet's own version of his fable, and divining, if we can, his motive for preferring it to others.

An obvious example of the free imaginative handling of historical tradition is presented in the *Supplikes*. We learn from that play, in which, as the first of a trilogy, it is unsafe to speculate on the existence of a main underlying motive, that there was a time when the whole region, from the northern parts of Thessaly and Epirus to Cape Tænarus, was under one king, who had his throne at Argos, and was eponymus and ruler of the Pelasgi, the Hellenes being as yet unheard of. And there it fell to his hard lot to decide between protecting the suppliant Danaïdes, to the imminent danger of his own people, and delivering them, at the risk of some great pollution, into the hands of their cousins, the fifty sons of Aegyptus. All this, no doubt, led up to the tragedy of *Hypermnestra*. But in the fable itself so far, there are two points especially worthy of notice.

<sup>1</sup> *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (in Hazlitt's Dodsley, vol. iv.).

1. Can this notion of a Pan-Pelagic kingdom (alluded to later in the *Prometheus*) be much older than Aeschylus? Must it not at least be regarded as the creation of a time, when, in consequence of the united efforts against the Mede, Pan-Hellenism had made way in advanced minds? In adopting it Aeschylus in so far follows the tendency which I have traced in him elsewhere, as by going back to pre-Hellenic times he can, without offence, imagine an age when respect for the suppliant was an open question only to be decided after long debate.

2. Thus, in a period imagined as far back, the plain of Argos is the seat of sovereign rule for what was afterwards called Hellas. We have now further to observe that the centre of this 'nurse of royal kings,' as conceived by the poet, was in the earliest ages the city of Argos itself, and not Mycenae. This is an assumption which we know to have been false in fact, but which for some reason seems to have been consistently held by Aeschylus. It would also appear that the city was imagined by him as unfortified.

The presumable date of the *Suppliants*, as one of the earliest plays, in so far corroborates the doubt which has lately been thrown on the connexion which some had suggested between the suppression of the name of Mycenae in the dramas of Aeschylus, and its alleged actual suppression by the Argives in 454 B.C. The fact remains that of this time-honoured city, so prominently mentioned in the *Iliad*, and in the plays of Sophocles, a city whose ancient supremacy was known to Thucydides, no trace remains on the Aeschylean page.

In repeating this assertion we do not rely on the often fallacious argument from silence. The occasions for mentioning Mycenae in the *Oresteia*, if the city were supposed to exist, especially if it were the seat of government, are too frequent and too obvious to admit of any other explanation. The Herald in returning salutes Argos and his country's gods—whose temples are manifestly there—and not *Μυκῆνας τὰς πολυχρύσους*, to which the Paedogogus points in the *Electra*. This is only one of many similar proofs. The late Bishop of Lincoln was, so far as I know, the first to call attention to this blotting out of Mycenae, and it has been adverted to by subsequent writers. It has been less observed, however, that in the pre-historic

imaginings of Aeschylus, Sparta is equally non-existent with Mycenæ.

That the legend of Menelaus and Helen should have undergone such an important modification may be a surprising fact, but so it is.

Menelaus is the dear (joint) sovereign of *this* (Argive) land τῆσδὲ γῆς φίλον κράτος.<sup>1</sup> Not from Sparta but from Argos do Paris and Helen steal away.<sup>2</sup> It is in *this* house—the palace of the Pelopidae, that Helen's remembered beauty flits amongst other phantoms less beautiful but not more sad. For a fuller statement of this point I may refer to an article ('Notes on the Agamemnon') which I contributed to an early number of the *American Journal of Philology*.

The fact, if admitted, affords a very strong illustration, both of the unfixed condition of Greek heroic legend, and of the boldness with which Aeschylus took advantage of it. I wonder that it should have escaped the notice of Mr. F. A. Paley—for it must count for much amongst the indications on which he relies that 'our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*' had not yet the position of a 'Greek bible,' which Plato seems to assign to them. That in the imaginative flights in which the poet thinks to get behind the Dorian conquest into the pre-Dorian and even the pre-Hellenic world, he should have used this liberty of prophesying, need not surprise us greatly. At all events to have observed the fact, is, I think, of some moment, in connexion with the task of interpreting him.

Two other points in the trilogy are often misconceived: the position of Aegisthus, and the instrument of Agamemnon's murder. That Aegisthus is not installed in the palace at the opening, is, I think, clearly shown by l. 1608 of the *Agamemnon*, καὶ τοῦδε τάνδρὸς ἡψάμην θυραῖος ὦν. I imagine him to have returned from exile during the absence of the king, and to have lived obscurely in the borders of Argolis, while Clytemnestra in the great solitary palace was studiously nursing her revenge. The two hatreds coalesce into an adulterous union—but this is not avowed until l. 1436 of the *Agamemnon*. And the reproach of the Chorus in l. 1625, γύναι, σὺ τοὺς ἤκουτας ἐκ μάχης νέον, κ.τ.λ., is the first outbreak of public indignation on this score.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ag. 619.

<sup>2</sup> Ag. 402. 427.

<sup>3</sup> See also *Choeph.* 132, ff.



Lastly, it has been the common view, derived from the *Electra* of Sophocles, that Clytemnestra kills Agamemnon with an axe. But how can this be reconciled with *Choeph.* 1011 ὡς ἔβαψεν Αἰγίσθου ξίφος? Aegisthus, in the Aeschylean fable, took no part in the actual murder. But it appears, from this crucial passage, that it was done with his sword. And the incident which is thus suggested, viz. that the dastardly assassin should have purposely left his sword with Clytemnestra at their last secret meeting, is a lurid touch which is admirably in keeping, while it accounts for the abnormal circumstance that the princess, who affects to be too dainty to know aught of such matters (any more than of the craft of the smith), is found to be, after all, possessed of a lethal weapon.

The limited scope of this article forbids my touching on many tempting themes—the attitude of Aeschylus towards women (that aspect of the *Ewigweibliche* that was revealed to him); his estimate of domestic life; his manner of combining strength and tenderness; his power of reconciling individuality of treatment with pervading dignity and sonorousness; his strong conviction of the latent forces of democracy, and of the powerlessness of government to crush lastingly the popular will. All such points, however, are secondary to that which it has been my chief object to bring into prominence in the present paper, the faith of Aeschylus in the ideal which his own age had realized. Something kindred to this was at the core of all Hellenic art of the greatest period; but nowhere does it assume such depth of religious and ethical conviction, as in the Father of Tragedy. And, by imaginative contrast it accounts for much of what is gloomiest in him as well as for some things that are obscure. For as Keats has sung,

‘In the very temple of Delight  
Veiled Melancholy has her sovran shrine,  
Though seen of none save him whose strenuous tongue  
Can burst Joy’s grape against his palate fine:  
His soul shall taste the sadness of her might,  
And be among her cloudy trophies hung.’

And the joy of Aeschylus is a prophet’s rejoicing in the triumph

of good. One remark of a somewhat practical nature may be offered in conclusion. When Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, are found to differ in respect of the details of a fable, it by no means follows that the earliest version is that adopted by the earliest poet. Each had his own manner of innovating, and his own special motives. While Aeschylus seems, occasionally at least, to have profoundly modified the whole spirit and intention of a myth or legend, and Euripides would often adopt the more fantastic in preference to the accredited version, the novel features either invented or preferred by Sophocles, had immediate reference to the harmonious structure of the drama, and to the most effective realisation of the leading human motive.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

## NOTES ON (I), THE TRILOGY AND (II), CERTAIN FORMAL ARTIFICES OF AESCHYLUS.

### I.—ON AESCHYLEAN TRILOGY.

1. THE interesting *Prolegomena zu Aeschylus' Tragödien* of R. Westphal (1869), which contains the germ of the idea worked out in Mezger's recent edition of Pindar, suggested to me to inquire why Aeschylus and the other pre-Sophoklean tragedians wrote tetralogies,—for this is the form in which Westphal's book suggests the question. But it becomes soon apparent that the real problem is why it was the habit to write a trilogy + a satyric drama; and this question contains two distinct parts: (1) why tragedy took the form of a trilogy—not a dilogy, tetralogy, or single drama; (2) why a satyric drama was also performed. Of these questions the latter has been discussed and adequately answered in every treatise on Greek drama.

Westphal was seriously misled through not keeping the satyric drama separate from the three plays that preceded it. These formed a connected whole and were really equivalent to one consecutive drama of three acts, from which the satyric piece was quite distinct, albeit its subject usually had some external connexion with them. He connected the tetralogical form with the fact first noticed by him that every Aeschylean play contains four *χορικά*, so that Aeschylus, he supposes, used a quadruple division as his artistic *τεθμός*, in the same way as the Terpandric *nomos* was based on a seven-fold division. But why was the number 4 chosen? Was it a mere accident? Did Aeschylus or whoever introduced it toss up to determine the number of his *τεθμός*? Or was he a mystic who believed

in the hidden virtues of the Pythagorean *τετρακτύς*? Westphal makes no attempt to assign a motive for such a fundamental phase of Greek dramatic art.

2. Avoiding the false and superficial comparison which misled Westphal, we propose the question: Why was the first artistic phase of tragedy trilogical? By 'artistic' we would distinguish it from its undeveloped stage in the hands of Thespis, &c. Thus proposed, the question is not hard to answer. The motive for a triple division was the canon that lies at the foundation of all Greek art, which is stated for poetry in Aristotle's *Poetic* (7). A work of art must be a whole: *ὅλον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἔχον ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσον καὶ τελευτήν*. Aristotle states this of *ἡ σύστασις τῶν πραγμάτων*; but as the artistic form and the *Inhalt* mutually determine each other, what applies to one applies to both. Thus a drama, conforming to this canon of art, would fall into three acts, just as a plastic group should have a centre and two symmetric sides or wings (cf. pediments of temples). It is curious that Aristotle ignores trilogy in discussing tragedy, although this canon is so well illustrated by it. This principle also underlies the Terpantric *nomos*, in which the number 7 is accidental. It really consists of three main parts, *ἀρχά*, *ὀμφαλός* and *σφραγίς*; the other four (*προοίμιον*, *κατατροπά*, &c.) were only parasitical accessories, any of which could be omitted (as we find frequently in the odes of Pindar). Similarly of the five parts of the Pythian *nomos* of Sakadas, three were especially prominent, *πέϊρα*, *ἱαμβικόν* and *καταχόρευσις*; and Aristoxenos mentions a *nomos* of three parts, *ἀρχή*, *μέσον* and *ἐκβασίς*. The system of strophe, antistrophe and epode (whose invention is attributed to Stesichoros) depends on the same principle.

3. Westphal observed that each of Aeschylus's seven plays contains four *χορικά*. But four *χορικά* imply three epeisodia, and this is what he should have insisted on. Each drama of the trilogy, as well as the whole trilogy, obeyed the canon of art and consisted of three acts. The poet could vary the importance of the *prologos* and *exodos*: in the *Agamemnon* the *exodos* is perhaps the most prominent part of the play.

The canon itself has its foundation in the nature of space and time, but it would be *ἀπροσδιόνυσον* to discuss this here.

4. From all we know of Aeschylus's contemporaries there is

every reason to suppose that it was Aeschylus himself who first composed artistic trilogies. But the question arises whether it was the custom in earlier times to contend with three (or four) plays whose subjects might or might not be connected. If it was, the supposed innovation of Sophokles (contending with unconnected dramas) would have been only a reversion to the original pre-Aeschylean habit (compare however the important article of Mr. W. Lloyd in last number of this Journal). We have little evidence to trace the development of drama from Thespis to Aeschylus. The excellence of Aeschylus' three elder contemporaries, Phrunichos, Choirilos and Pratinas, lay either in satyric drama or in lyrical composition rather than in drama proper. Phrunichos was noted for his *πάθος*, but chiefly for his sweet lyrics (*μέλη*); Choirilos was more famous for his satyric dramas than his tragedies; Pratinas, whose high poetic power is proved by his extant hyporcheme, is recorded to have separated tragedy from satyric drama; he exhibited fifty plays and of these no less than thirty-two were satyric.<sup>1</sup>

Proceeding upon this slender evidence, and remembering that at the festival of Dionusos there must have been a certain order of the day, that fixed times must have been allotted to the procession, to the tragic and comic representations and all the ceremonies connected with the feast, we may suppose that each competitor had a certain time given him, and that it was left to his own choice how he should use it—with how many and with what sort of plays. Poets whose *forte* was tragic style would naturally fill a relatively large proportion of the time with serious representations taken from epic poems; those who, like Pratinas and Choirilos, excelled in the satyric style might exhibit chiefly plays of that kind. Then the genius of Aeschylus appeared and prescribed a law to drama by making it serve an idea. He occupied about three quarters of the allotted time with an artistic drama of three long acts, and thereby made the satyric drama less prominent. He had to adapt the length of his plays to a limited time, just as a sculptor had to suit the size and number of his pedimental figures to the dimensions of the pediment. A new idea like this would necessarily have legislative effect, for when he gained a prize by his new method,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mahaffy, *Hist. Gk. Lit.* vol. i. p. 231, *et seq.*

his competitors would see that (to use his own expression) they must slay him with arrows feathered from his own plumage.

5. It is true that we have no direct evidence that a definite time was prescribed for the dramatic performances. But there must have been an order of the day at the Dionusia involving fixed hours for its several parts, and I do not see how we can avoid supposing that the time for comic and tragic representations must have been limited either by statute or custom. It is not necessary to suppose that the time was measured accurately *πρὸς κλεψύδραν* (and Aristotle, *Poet.* 7, seems rather to make against such a supposition), only that there was at least a conventional broad limit, which a dramatist could not exceed with impunity, and that each of the three competitors had the same amount of time. Now, although we have no direct *proofs* of this, which is *a priori* natural and cannot be disproved, there are certain *indications* which are worth mentioning. The average length of Sophokles' seven extant dramas is 1477 lines; the average length of fourteen plays of Euripides (I omit purposely the *Iphigeneia in Aul.* because it has extensive interpolations which make it impossible to determine exactly its original length, the *Herakleidai* because there is probably a lacuna of some extent in it, the *Kuklops* as a satyric drama, and the *Alkestis* as a quasi-satyric drama) is 1463. This is a remarkable coincidence in numbers, and I think we may roughly conclude that the average length of a trilogy of Sophokles or Euripides was about  $1470 \times 3$ ; the satyric drama would be larger or shorter according to the variation from this average. When we turn to Aeschylus the length of his plays seems at first sight to point to an opposite conclusion. The actual average of the number of lines in his seven extant plays is 1160; but it is probably an accident that the four unconnected plays are all short, and, judging from the *Oresteia*, it is probable that in the trilogies to which they belonged the other dramas, one or both, were longer. The average length of the three plays of the *Oresteia* is 1265 and, even if we suppose it to have been unusually long, we may conclude the average length of the Aeschylean trilogies to have been  $1200 \text{ odd} \times 3$ . This does not contradict but confirms our hypothesis, for the plays of Aeschylus had a larger proportion of music than those of his two successors, and consequently a play of his would take on an average a

longer time to perform than a play of the same length of either of the latter: the *Agamemnon*, e.g., would take much longer to perform than the *Orestes*. If we really have a trilogy of Sophokles in the *Trachiniai*, *Aias* and *Philoktetes* (as Mr. Lloyd has suggested), it is interesting to compare it in this respect with the *Oresteia*. The supposed Sophoklean trilogy is 372 lines longer than the Aeschylean, but there is as much music in the *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides* alone as there is in the three plays of Sophokles together. It is true that the length of the *Oresteia* may be above the average length of Aeschylean trilogies, and the length of this triplet of Sophokles probably below his average, but this will not invalidate the general indication that as the musical element became less the average length of the trilogy became greater—an indication in favour of the thesis that the time of a tragic representation had approximate, if not accurate, limits, whether statutory or conventional.

This question of the development of the drama at Athens is very fascinating, but the evidences are so scant that it is vain to attempt to fill in details, and one must be content with such general indications.

6. We may now approach the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus and see how he adapts his trichotomy to the three moments of a deep moral doctrine which is the *Grundgedanke* of this trilogy. The law of justice is ἐρξάντα παθεῖν (*Agam.* 1564, cf. 533, *Choeph.* 313); but there is an object in πάθος, namely μάθος, as is twice insisted on in the first choral ode of the *Agamemnon*, l. 176: τὸν πάθει μάθος θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν, and 250 Δίκα δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦσιν μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπει τὸ μέλλον; cf. *Eumcn.* 520: ξυμφέρει σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει. Aeschylus is sounding the law of life, ἐρξάντα παθεῖν, retribution, but he explains it in two directions, so that it really contains three moments, to which the three dramas correspond: (1) A πάθος or ἄτα implies a crime (ἔργμα); (2) conversely, he who has done must suffer, ἔργμα implies πάθος; (3) the object of suffering is experience, to teach. The *Agamemnon* contains the ἔργμα, the *Choephoroi* contains the πάθος, the *Eumenides* the μάθος. But the ἔργμα of Klutaimnestra and Aegisthus is also the πάθος of Agamemnon, and all through the play a past ἔργμα, the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, is kept before us. In the *Choephoroi* the second aspect of the lesson is brought home to us. But the πάθος of the guilty pair is also an ἔργμα

of *Orestes*, which must be followed by another *πάθος*. In the *Eumenides* we have the third aspect, *πάθος* may result in *μάθος*; and so Aeschylus justifies the ways of Zeus with man. Agamemnon failed to learn, Klutaimnestra failed to learn, but Orestes learned (*Eum.* 276, ἐγὼ διδαχθεὶς ἐν κακοῖς ἐπίσταμαι πολλοὺς καθαρμούς, κ.τ.λ.), and the troubles of the house ceased. The *Agamemnon* and the *Choephori* balance one another, the *Eumenides* is the resultant. There is a *δέσις* in the first play which receives a *λύσις* in the second, but this very *λύσις* is a new *δέσις*, which receives a final *λύσις* in the third. At the beginning of the *Agamemnon* there glimmers a *φῶς αἰνολαμπές*, at the end all is darkness; it is still dark at the beginning of the *Choephori*, but at the end *πάρα τὸ φῶς ἰδεῖν*; in the *Eumenides* the children of Night are overcome by the God of Day. We may add that in the *Agamemnon* Πειθώ is the *προβουλόπαις ἄφερτος ἄτας*, instigating to a deed; in the *Choephori* she is *δολία* and assists the *πάθος*; in the *Eumenides* she helps to soothe the Erinnues.

The Prometheus trilogy enforced the same doctrine in a different form. As Firebearer, Bound and Unbound, Prometheus represents successively *ἔργμα*, *πάθος* and *μάθος*. On the other trilogies we shall forbear speculating, as there is so much uncertainty in regard to the plots of the lost plays, and shall proceed to point out some other characteristics of the form of Aeschylean tragedy.

## II.—CERTAIN FORMAL ARTIFICES OF AESCHYLUS.

7. The scenes in *Prometheus Bound* respond to one another very accurately. In the *prologue* and *exodos* Prometheus is in the presence of his tormentors. In the first epeisodion the conversation with Okeanos answers to and contrasts with the scene with Io in the third. In the second epeisodion, which is as it were the *omphalos* of the piece, Prometheus is alone on the stage. The contrast between Okeanos and Io seems to be that while the *God* can give no assistance to the chained hero, a *mortal* is destined to deliver him by her future progeny. But the introduction of Io has another, deeper meaning, which commentators have not seen because they have not sufficiently



attended to Aeschylus's own indications in his choral odes. The great doctrine of this play is that abnormal (i.e. contrary to the *ἁρμονία Διός*) intercourse of mortals and immortals is a subversion of the order of the Universe and must result in pain. *Prometheus* is the example of an immortal lowering himself to an undue concern for mortals; *Io* is the converse example of a mortal raised above a mortal's rank to approach a God. The choral ode l. 529 sq. insists on the folly and evil consequences of the former error; then follows the scene with *Io*; after which the final choral ode of the play (l. 887 sq.) insists with equal stress on the misfortune of a mortal marrying an immortal. That Aeschylus meant these two odes to be taken in close connexion will be plain from the following comparisons:—

l. 526 (str. a).

μήδ' αὖ' ὅ πάντα νέμων  
θεῖτ' ἐμᾷ γνῶμα κράτος ἀντί-  
παλον Ζεὺς...  
μηδ' ἀλίτοιμι λόγοις.

l. 894 (ant. a).

μήποτε μήποτέ μ', ὦ  
πότνιαι Μοῖραι, λεχέων Διὸς  
εὐνάτειριν ἰδοισθε πέλουσαν·  
μηδὲ πλαθείην γαμέτα τινὶ τῶν  
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.

l. 535 (ant. a).

ἀλλὰ μοι τόδ' ἐμμένοι καὶ  
μήποτ' ἐκτακέη.  
<sup>1</sup> ἄδύ τι θαρσαλέαις  
τὸν μακρὸν τείνειν βίον ἐλπῖσι,  
φαναῖς  
θυμὸν ἀλδαίνουσιν ἐν εὐφρο-  
σύναις.

l. 886 (str. a).

ἡ σοφὸς ἡ σοφὸς δς  
πρῶτος ἐν γνῶμα τόδ' ἐβάστασε  
καὶ γλώσσα διεμυθολόγησεν,  
ὥς τὸ κηδεῦσαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν  
ἀριστεύει μακρῶ  
καὶ μήτε κ.τ.λ.

l. 540 (ant. a).

φρίσσω δέ σε δερκομένα  
μυρίοις μόχθοις διακναιόμενον.

l. 898 (ant. a).

ταρβῶ γὰρ ἀστεργάνηρα παρ-  
θενίαν  
εἰσορῶσ' Ἰοῦς μέγα δαπτο-  
μέναν  
δυσπλάνοις Ἥρας ἀλατείαις  
πόνων.

<sup>1</sup> This parallelism supports Mr. Ver-  
rall's suggestion that the words ἄδύ τι

κ.τ.λ. are a 'slightly disguised ver-  
sion' of an elegiac couplet.

1. 546.

οὐδ' ἐδέρχθης  
ὀλιγοδρανίαν ἄικυν,  
ἰσόνειρον ἄ τὸ φωτῶν  
ἀλαδὸν γένος ἐμπεποδισμένον·  
οὔποτε θνατῶν  
τὰν Διὸς ἀρμονίαν παρεξίασι  
βουλαί.

1. 555.

τὸ διαμφίδιον δέ μοι μέλος...  
ὅτε τὰν ὁμοπάτριον ἔδνοις  
ἄγαγες Ἑσιόναν πιθῶν δά-  
μαρτα κοινόλεκτρον.

1. 902.

μηδὲ κρεισσόνων  
θεῶν ἄφυκτον ὄμμα προσ-  
δράκοι με...  
Διὸς γὰρ οὐχ ὀρώ  
μήτιν ὅπα φύγοιμ' ἄν.

1. 901.

ἐμοὶ δ' ὅτι μὲν ὁμαλὸς ὁ γάμος  
οὐ δέδιω.

Finally the χάρις ἄχαρις (l. 545) of τὸ σέβειν θνατοὺς ἄγαν corresponds to the ἀπολέμιστος πόλεμος ἄπορα πόριμος (l. 906) in which Io was involved with Here.

8. Having seen from this instance the closeness with which Aeschylus attended to formal details and the mode in which he utilized correspondences of phraseology to indicate his deeper meaning, we may proceed to consider some passages in the *Agamemnon* on which this observation will, we think, throw new light.

It will be noticed how closely the ἐπάργεμα θέσφατα of *Kassandra* (l. 1072-1176) correspond not only in the metre, strophe to antistrophe, but also in parallelism of sense. This consideration will enable us to establish that the right reading in the much-troubled line 1172 is that which involves the very slightest change from the MSS.:

- 1156 ἰὼ γάμοι γάμοι Πάριδος ὀλέθριοι φίλων. str. η  
ἰὼ Σκαμάνδρου πάτριον ποτόν.  
τότε μὲν ἀμφὶ σὰς αἰόνας τάλαιν' ἡνυτόμαν τροφαῖς  
νῦν δ' ἀμφὶ Κωκυτόν τε κάχερουσίους
- 1161 ὄχθους ἔοικα θεσπιφδήσειν τάχα.
- 1167 ἰὼ πόνοι πόνοι πόλεος ὀλομένης τὸ πᾶν. ant. η  
ἰὼ πρόπυργοι θυσαίαι πατρὸς  
πολυκανεῖς βοτῶν ποιονόμων ἄκος δ' οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν  
τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν.
- 1172 ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόν οὖς τάχ' ἐν πέδῳ βαλῶ.  
(θερμόν οὖς, Canter for MSS. θερμόνους).

L. 1156 contains the cause of the effect described in 1167 : notice γάμοι, πόνοι; Πάριδος, πόλεος; ὀλέθριοι, ὀλομένας. In 1157 πάτριον, 1168 πατρός.

In str. η *Kassandra* contrasts the past with the present prospect; she used to dwell by the banks of the river Skamander, but she will *soon* prophesy by the banks of the Acheron and the Kôkutos. In ant. η also she contrasts the past with the present prospect. She used to assist at the sacrifices of cattle offered by her father, but they availed not; now she will *soon*—what is the contrast? She tells us herself afterwards when she has ceased to speak in riddles; l. 1275 sq.:

καὶ νῦν ὁ μάντις μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμὲ  
ἀπήγαγ' ἐς τοιάσδε θανάσιμους τύχας.  
βωμοῦ πατρόςου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίξηνον μένει,  
θερμῷ κοπείσαν φοινίῳ προσφύγματι.

A block waits her instead of her father's altar. θερμῷ here seems to me to prove θερμόν right in 1172. At first sight I was tempted to read ξήνῳ for πέδῳ,—the simple form of ἐπιξήνῳ, but not found except in Suidas. But there is no necessity. οὗς is an allusion to the μαντική: 'my ear that used to listen to the utterances of the victims.' τάχ' corresponds to τάχα in 1161.

9. In the *Agamemnon* there is an implied parallel throughout between the destruction that had come upon Troy and the destruction about to come upon the house of Agamemnon. This parallel is drawn with special clearness in the second chorus l. 403–455, and the poet indicates throughout the *responsions of thought by responsions of phrase*. The grief of Menelaos for Helen is contrasted with the grief of the Greeks for the warriors slain at Troy:

Compare 408                   πολλὰ δ' ἔστενον  
                                  τότ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφήται·  
with       445 στένουσι δ' εὖ λέγοντες ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ.

Of Helen there is only left an image of fancy or vain dream-visions; of the slain warriors there only return urns of ashes:

- Compare 414            πόθῳ δ' ὑπερποντίας  
                           φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν  
 and        420 ὀνειρόφαντοι δὲ πενθήμονες  
                           πάρεισιν δόκαι φέρουσαι χάριν ματαίαν  
 with       434 ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν  
                           τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἐκάστου δόμῳς ἀφικνέεται  
 and        441        ...φίλοισι πέμπει βραχὺ  
                           ψῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀντήνορος σποδοῦ γεμί-  
                           ζων λέβητας εὐθέτους.

(With πενθήμονες in 420 compare πένθεια τλησικάρδιος in 430). Aeschylus emphasises his intended parallel by twice repeating the same idea. Helen went away to Ilion, βέβακεν ῥίμφα διὰ πυλᾶν, and only a passing dream of her came to Menelaos παραλλάξασα διὰ χειρῶν βέβακεν ὄψις. And so the Greeks sent away their soldiers to Ilion, οὗς μὲν γάρ τις ἔπεμψεν οἶδεν; but Ares sent back only dust, φίλοισι πέμπει βραχὺ ψῆγμα.

To (l. 415 sq.)

εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν  
 ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί·  
 ὁμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.

corresponds (l. 452 sq.)

οἱ δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τείχος  
 θήκας Ἰλιάδος γᾶς  
 εὐμορφοὶ κατέχουσιν· ἐχθρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυνψεν.

εὐμορφοὶ κολοσσοί are statues of Helen. So far from being a comfort to Menelaos in her absence, they are hateful to him—for they have no eyes to see. To these correspond the comely bodies of the fallen heroes; they are no comfort to the mourners because they are far off in the land of Ilium, covered by a hateful soil. It must be specially noticed that these lines correspond strictly in metre although they are not strophic and antistrophic (the first three belonging to str. β, the second three to str. γ). ἔχοντας is almost certainly corrupt in l. 455; only a strained meaning can be elicited from it. Read

ἐχθρὰ δ' ἔρροντας ἔκρυνψεν,

'as they perished' (imperf. part.). This will correspond to ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.

The προφήται δόμων of Menelaos mourn thus after Helen's flight (l. 410):

ἰὼ ἰὼ δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι,  
ἰὼ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλόνορες.  
πάρεστι σιγᾶς ατιμος αλοιδόρος  
ἄδιστος ἀφαιμένων ἰδεῖν.

In dealing with these corrupt words the commentators generally start with referring πάρεστι to Menelaos; he is however expressly referred to a few lines below (ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρὶ) in a manner which gives the impression that he was not mentioned so directly before. We propose to read with less change than any of the readings hitherto put forward <sup>1</sup>—

πάρεστι σιγᾶς ἀτίμους αλοιδόρους  
ἄδιστ' ἀφαιμένων ἰδεῖν.

This only involves the assumption that  $\delta = \sigma\upsilon$  in cursive MSS. was corrupted to  $\sigma$  in ἀτίμους and αλοιδόρους. ἄδιστ' was changed by a person without understanding to ἄδιστος to agree with ἀτιμος αλοιδόρος. The passage may be paraphrased, πάρεστιν ἰδεῖν ἀτίμους καὶ αλοιδόρους συγκῶντας τοὺς ἄδιστα ἀφαιμένους (middle; = Menelaos). σιγᾶς ἀτίμους would be an instance of 'interchange of attributive forms.'

Corresponding to this lament, the universal grief of Greece (in l. 445 sq.) is thus described:

στένουσι δ' εὖ λέγοντες ἄνδρα τὸν μὲν ὡς  
μάχης Ἰδρις τὸν δ' ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσόντ'  
ἄλλοτρίας διαὶ γυναικός. τάδε σίγᾳ τις βαυῖζει.

σίγᾳ τις βαυῖζει corresponds plainly to σιγᾶς αλοιδόρους; both expressions mean that there is no open grumbling. βάζω and βαυῖζω were often equivalent to λαιδορέω, cf. Hesychius, ἔβαξας ἐλοιδόρησας (and see Mr. Verrall's interesting note on *Medea*, 1374). It may be noted that λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλόνορες, the 'harvest-fields' of Aphrodite, correspond to μάχης and ἐν φοναῖς, the sphere of Ares. The theme of the first part is connected with the goddess (mentioned in l. 419), as the theme

<sup>1</sup> In the antistrophe, read with Dindorf, τὸ πᾶν δ' ἀφ' Ἑλλανίδος γᾶς συνορμύνοισι.

of the second part is connected with the god (mentioned in l. 437).

10. It may be useful to exhibit the results of our investigation of this ode by giving a brief summary of its contents, arranged in such a way as to show its peculiar structure, which produces the effect of a tide retreating and advancing.

*a.* The gods do not fail to punish injustice, and it is unjust to tamper with *χάρις ἀθίκτων*.

*b.* Paris was guilty of injustice in carrying off Helen,

*c.* who went to Ilion, bringing destruction upon it (and Paris),

*d.* and leaving to the bereaved in Sparta lamentation and silent complaint—regret for the love and beauty that had departed :

*e.* for only a phantom of her was left in the palace, and her beautiful images became hateful to her husband, for they had no light in their eyes, and, without that, Aphrodite could give no charm ; she could send

*f.* naught but empty dreams,—phantoms that came, and departed as Helen herself had departed.

*g.* Such were the private woes in the palace at Lacedaemon.

*g'.* But there are now universal woes throughout all Hellas :

*f'.* for only the ashes of the warriors who were sent to Ilion are sent back therefrom :

*e'.* Ares could send naught but the ashes of some ; other beautiful bodies are at Ilion, buried in a land that is hateful to Greece.

*d'.* To Greece they have left lamentation,—regret for the brave that have bravely fallen,—and silent complaint

*c'.* to issue in woes for the sons of Atreus who brought them to Ilion,

*b'.* and were thereby guilty of the slaughter of many (*πολυκτόνοι*),

*a'.* a crime which the gods do not fail to punish.

11. It will appear no doubt surprising, and many will be *a priori* indisposed to believe that Aeschylus could have elaborated his odes on such a subtle plan as this principle of *antiphony*, if we may so call it. On the other hand (as Mr. Mahaffy has suggested to me), it will render intelligible Aristophanes' criticism on him for being over artificial (cf. Mahaffy, *Hist. Gk. Lit.*, i. p. 274), and this seems a conclusive answer to all *a priori* objections. To examine his other choral odes in the light of this principle, *non est hujus otii*. The examples I have given are, I think, sufficient to show that he worked (at least sometimes) with an artistic elaboration and minuteness of detail that has never been suspected,—a minuteness which, if practised by a modern poet, would be scouted as oversubtlety, and considered, to use the phrase that Aristophanes applies to the musical 'zigzags and dodges' of Agathon, *μύρμηκος ἀτραποί*. We may also learn that no study can be too microscopic to bring the ideas of Aeschylus to light.

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## EARLY PAINTINGS OF ASIA MINOR.

IN the history of Greek vase-painting the comparative rarity of early examples of undoubtedly Asiatic *provenance* is a problem that has always remained a vexed question. It is difficult to account for the fact that, whereas from the islands studding the coast of Asia Minor a rich harvest has been gathered, yet the examples hitherto recovered from the mainland itself may be counted on the fingers—at least, with the exception of a few found in the Troad. Since, therefore, anything should be valuable which adds to our information, or throws light upon the existence of an Asiatic school of black-figured vase-painting, I propose to introduce in as few words as possible the vase before us (Figs. 1, 2) as a possible product of Asiatic soil, and as a commentary upon the examples we already possess.

It is an *amphora* of an unusual form, rather more rounded in proportion than the customary shape, reminding us perhaps in this of the rounded outline of the so-called Oriental *oinochoe*; unfortunately, only about half of the many fragments into which it was broken were found in Mr. Biliotti's excavations in Rhodes, so that the painted panels on each side are sadly dilapidated; still, enough remains to show us the intention of the painter, and, what is more important, perhaps, the technical conditions under which he worked. The natural colour of the clay is a fine deep red, upon which the figures are laid in black, which, from inequalities of baking and painting, merges in the thinnest parts into a bright vermilion. The details are in most cases incised, but in some cases indicated by white and purple, over and above the sparse use of these colours as accessories. On the side best preserved have been represented two satyrs with shaggy hair, full beard, and horse's tail and hoofs, who seem to be dancing one on either side of a large



*amphora*, a handle of which is grasped by each. On the other, and probably the more important, side, (Fig. 2) we have only the remains of a large wing, which may have belonged to a Gorgon,

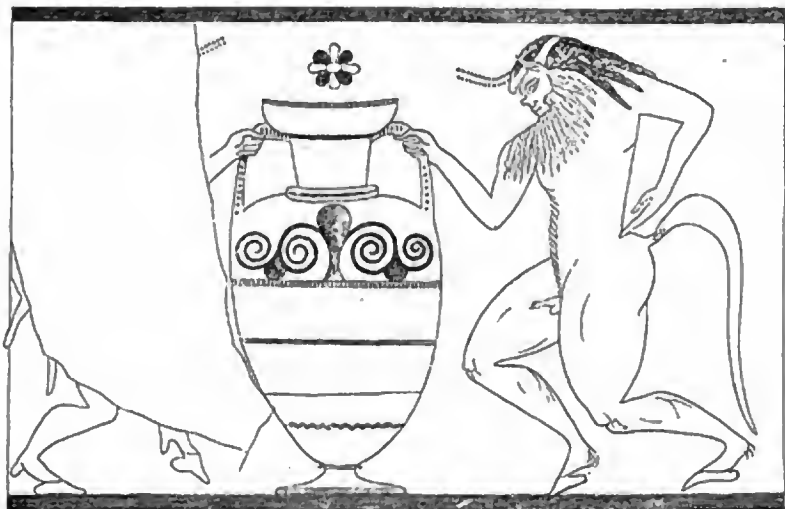


FIG. 1.

on either side of whom has stood a bird, only partially preserved, and two rosettes above the scene.



FIG. 2.

Height 9½ inches.

The scenes which the artist has chosen have, then, as far as we can judge in their imperfect condition, no connection with

any definite story or myth, but are purely decorative; and for this reason, as well as from certain crudities of treatment and *technique*, I should assign it to an early stage of the black-figured period. It was found, as I have said, in Rhodes, but there is at present no similar Rhodian fabric with which it can be properly classed; it belongs rather, I think, to a class of paintings of which the examples hitherto forthcoming hail from Asia Minor. Considering how few these are, it would be rash at present to state anything definite as to this fabric; I will only endeavour to draw attention to the proofs of relationship with the remainder of the class.

We have, first of all, the vase bought by Mr. Ramsay at Smyrna, and published by him in this *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 305.

This vase, however, though it certainly has little in common with any known Greek type, belongs equally little to the black-figured style with which we are dealing; the only instance with which it can be compared is a vase published in the *Barre Catalogue*,<sup>1</sup> No. 79, and which seems identical in every respect of style with it; this latter is from Cyprus, and it may be that both are originally from some part of Asia Minor further south, if not from Cyprus itself. Next we have the Myrina vase, published by Rayet in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, vol. viii. pp. 509-14, pl. vii., which is a typical instance of the class I allude to; and finally, the numerous fragments of painted sarcophagi, published by Dennis in this *Journal*, vol. iv. pp. 1-22. Before the publication of Dennis's instances no similar painted sarcophagus had been known, except the one from Rhodes, now in the British Museum; and at first sight both these and the Myrina vase seem to class themselves most naturally with the fabric of which Rhodes has given us such abundance; but on closer inspection, for which I have lately had the advantages of

<sup>1</sup> I cannot at all agree with M. Rayet in the extremely early date which he assigns to Mr. Ramsay's vase; the woodcut of it given *loc. cit.* very fairly represents what is at best a very crude production; it is true, the head painted on it resembles a type found on Phrygian monuments, but that is no reason why it should necessarily date from the earliest of this long series of monu-

ments. Indeed, when we compare it with the Barro vase, the style seems to represent, not so much genuine archaism, as that florid ignorance of which we have samples in some late ware in the British Museum from South Italy, and where we find a similar reminiscence of an earlier art very much debased.

handling some of the principal fragments quoted by Dennis, it is apparent that there are certain decided points of difference; the Rhodian sarcophagus, for example, though it follows in the main the same traditions in the disposition and even the choice of subjects, and though the *technique* and treatment are similar, yet shows decided evidence of being a later imitation of some early style, like that of the Dennis fragment, copied by an artist who could have drawn more skilfully if he had been working independently of any model; the animals are freer, the ornaments much more florid, and the warriors' heads are almost grotesque in the evident desire of the artist to adapt an early original to his own environments. As the vases collected by Dennis are from the neighbourhood of Clazomenae, and as no other site has produced painted sarcophagi, it would seem as if this spot was a centre of production of this fabric. As a sarcophagus of terra-cotta would have been too unwieldy to be suitable for export, I would suggest that the Rhodian instance may perhaps have been a local production on the lines of the fabric of Clazomenae, or some such external model; while, for the same reason the Clazomenae fragments are valuable, as evidence of the fabrics probably of that locality. And there is one point in the relative treatment of the two styles of sarcophagi which seems to bear upon this possibility; that in (so far as I can make out) all the instances from Clazomenae, the inner markings, i.e. the features of the faces, the hair, the muscles, etc., are marked in white paint on the black ground of the body; so far as I know this peculiarity is confined to the instances from Asia Minor. The method of rendering these markings to which we are most accustomed in black-figured vases is, of course, the incised lines which became universal among black-figured vases; but this invention had not always existed, and in Rhodian vases in particular we have the opportunity of studying its development. The successive steps would seem to have been something in this order; first we have the rudimentary figure in plain silhouette, with no inner markings at all; this is followed by an attempt to indicate the eye and other of the more prominent characteristics by leaving thin lines in the silhouette unpainted; then we have the entire face left in outline, as well as perhaps the hoofs of animals, etc.; and from this point we branch off in two directions, on the one hand of figures left entirely in outline.

on the other the whole figure is blacked in, and the necessary details afterwards scratched out in fine lines. Now among the vases found at Rhodes we have a great number of *oinochoai*, which seem to belong precisely to this stage of development, and which illustrate a time when the last two stages of development must have existed temporarily side by side. Of exactly the same form and general system of decoration, they divide themselves naturally into two distinct styles. These *oinochoai* are ornamented with horizontal bands of animals in a field thickly *semé* with flowers and other patterns; but whereas one series have the inner markings indicated by the unpainted line, and most of the patterns in the field are such as belonged to the geometric style, in the other the inner markings are incised, the figures are more conventional and more highly coloured with purple, and the more crowded patterns in the field consist almost universally of the round rosette. Now it is obvious that this general style must have been borrowed more or less directly from an Oriental source, for which reason, indeed, the name 'Oriental' has been specially applied to it; and since the peculiar characteristics of the second class are such as we should most naturally attribute to an Oriental origin, we may be allowed to suppose that this second class represents more distinctly the eastern productions from which the remainder of these *oinochoai* borrowed their system of decoration. To the eastern artists, accustomed to work similar friezes in metal, the use of incised lines would be no new thing. The graving tool of the metal-worker accustomed to incising details on metal, and accustomed to similar methods of decoration as we see in the Patras cuirass, (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* vol. vii., pl. i.-iii.) would obviously have suggested a similar expedient for the painter of vases. Hence, then, it seems probable that the usage of incised lines must have existed among the Asiatic fabrics before it was employed in Rhodes; and we may expect to find this fact verified in the case of the sarcophagi. The Rhodian sarcophagus is decorated still in what we may, for convenience, call the Dorian style, *i.e.* with the faces left in outline, and markings on the body indicated by unpainted lines; on the other hand, in the earliest of the Clazomenae fragments we have some of the figures still in rude silhouette, others on the same fragment with the details indicated by thin lines of

white paint laid on the silhouette, exactly on the same method as incised lines would be used, which, in fact, at first sight they closely resemble. And the reason for this is not far to seek; on a vase of soft clay which has undergone one slight baking it is a comparatively easy matter to trace with a point a fine line; but these sarcophagi are made of pounded brick, which is baked hard before ever the groundwork of paint is laid on, and it would at this stage be extremely difficult to incise lines as fine as the decoration would require; accustomed, however, more to incised lines than to the 'Dorian' practice, the artist avails himself of the white paint already in use for the background, and finds in it an easy and sufficient substitute. As more black-figured vases are discovered from Asia Minor we shall see whether or no this simple substitute for the troublesome practice of incising commended itself to the artists of the black-figured style, and how far it became, as one would expect, universally substituted among them. So far as I know it has only been found at present in use upon one black-figured vase, as yet unpublished, but of which Mr. Ramsay showed me a tracing; as the evidence is strongly in favour of that vase having been found near Smyrna, it offers valuable testimony in favour of my contention. At present the evidence is too slight to found any definite case upon it; but what I would suggest is this: that the use of incised lines came originally from Asia Minor, and that where white inner markings are found in their place the presumption is in favour of an Asiatic origin.

Mr. Murray in the *Rev. Arch.*, N.S., vol. xlv. p. 344, has already called attention to this distinction of brush and graver in the two styles of Rhodian *oinochoai*, but he finds it strange that whereas, on the one hand, the mechanical conditions of the engraved style show more advanced work, the drawing is of a feebler style of art; and that vases of the Dorian style should be found in the same tombs with glass rosettes, such as must have prompted the decoration of the field peculiar to the 'Oriental' style; from which he concludes that the Oriental style is later than the Doric. But the difficulty disappears if we can prove that the two styles represent two distinct fabrics. In the large collection of Rhodian pottery now in the British Museum we can trace the 'Dorian' style from an early time down to the point where it is influenced by the Oriental vases; and there

seems no doubt that already when this takes place the Oriental style is in a condition of full development, and certainly not a newly-founded art. We have special facilities for judging this in the case of an *oinochos* (Fig. 3) at present in the British



FIG. 3.  
Height 18 inches.

Museum, which shows us a combination of the two styles, and which must from its appearance belong to a time when neither style was far advanced. It is of the ordinary shape, and at first

sight presents much the same appearance as the rest of the class with which we are dealing; but if we examine it closely we shall find that it is distinguished by several peculiar characteristics. It is decorated on the body with two bands of animals, of which the upper band exhibits the Oriental, the lower the Dorian, *technique* throughout, that is to say, while the upper band has the inner markings incised, and large masses of purple employed upon the silhouette, in the lower band less purple and no incised lines are used; the inner markings are left unpainted. Below these friezes are thin horizontal bands of black, upon which purple and white lines are painted alternately, a peculiarity which seems to belong exclusively to this series of the class; the clay is not of the ordinary light colour, with a thin yellowish engobe forming the ground tint, but is of a warm reddish colour, upon which a wash of white seems to have been laid with a brush. And there is one more point which in connection with these seems more than accidental, that in the field of the Dorian frieze, instead of the customary geometric patterns, the rosette is almost exclusively used, and the animal principally represented is the stereotyped goat looking backwards, of whom only the limbs nearest the spectator are shown.

From these points I think we may gather that the vases of this style were not made in Rhodes, but rather by an artist whose Oriental tendencies had been brought under the influence of the Dorian style. On one instance we have an elaborate anthemion ornament similar to that upon the *amphora* which is the subject of this paper, and which reminds us of the florid patterns used upon the sarcophagi from Clazomenae; and, on the whole, I think the evidence is strongly in favour of referring this series also to an Asiatic origin. If the Dorian vases of Rhodes show traces of the influence of Asia Minor, we may naturally expect a corresponding reaction upon the Asiatic style; in any case, if my conclusion is correct, this series is interesting as showing the sort of medium through which Asiatic vase-painting influenced the Rhodian painters; and we probably shall be able to judge best of the period of this class according as they exhibit in a greater or less degree this combination of the two styles.

I mentioned just now the use of white paint in this series

with the purple upon the black bands round the body; this is most important, because although, as I have shown, white paint is used at an early period in the sarcophagi and vases of Asia Minor, it does not seem to have been employed at all by the Rhodian artists of the Dorian or Oriental styles;<sup>1</sup> nor does it appear among any of the Melos vases given in Conze's *Melische Thongefässe*. Like the practice of incising lines, it came into general use later on for the vases of the black-figured style, and if we can show that before the black-figured period it was not employed except in the class of vases from Asia Minor, this will be an additional test for the identification of this class. Unfortunately, from its natural tendency to decay and rub off, it has, no doubt, in many instances almost disappeared where it was originally used, especially in the case of very early vases where the artists had apparently not yet learned the art of fixing this colour permanently; in the black-figured vases it lasts fairly well, and is never applied except upon a substratum of black glaze; but just as in the case of the hydria from the Polledrara tomb, the polychrome colours, once as bright as an Egyptian fresco, have so faded as to leave merely a trace of the original design, a sort of dull mark on the glaze, so there is a class of brownish-black ware which bears all the marks of being very archaic, and of which we have two or three instances from Rhodes, in which patterns have stood probably in red and white, but now have left only a dulness in the glaze and an occasional patch of colour. Now considering that previously to the introduction of the Oriental style the colours in use for Greek pottery were exclusively those of the clay and black, and that the idea of other colours seems to have come from the East with their tapestries and richly-coloured vases, we may, I think, fairly conclude that early vases of this polychrome fabric would have been, in all probability, Asiatic.<sup>2</sup>

It is interesting, therefore, to observe that in the large *amphora* grasped by the satyrs of Fig. 1, the ornament has been applied,

<sup>1</sup> Except one instance, upon a Camirus pinax.

<sup>2</sup> Unless indeed the Polledrara vases and the remainder of this class can be traced to some such Egyptian site as Naukratis: the porcelain objects and

ostrich eggs found with them would render this probable, besides the Egyptian character of the scene represented on the *hydria*: see Micali, *Mon.* pl. iv.



not as we should have expected, with incised lines, but in the less enduring pigments of two colours, one of which, as the faint traces show, is white. The inexperience of the artist in the use of his materials is further shown in the uneven character of the black glaze, which, in the earlier sarcophagi, is burnt in some parts to a bright vermilion colour; and in the case of the wreath worn by the satyr where white paint has been laid upon the natural surface of the clay, in later art this colour being always laid upon a medium. The decoration on the shoulder of the *amphora* in Fig. 1 consists of an arrangement of volutes which occur, so far as I know, only upon the early *amphorae* and *oinochoae* of what I would call the Asia Minor style. On the other hand, the delicate incised work employed to indicate the hair in the satyr's beard reminds us of the Oriental metal-work,<sup>1</sup> while the rosettes above each design, with their petals alternately purple and black, are a direct reminiscence of the Oriental style of decoration. In one of the sarcophagi from Clazomenae a scene occurs in which several cocks are introduced without any apparent relation to the other figures; and two birds appear in the reverse design of our *amphora*; it may be that in both cases the artists were working upon the lines of an Oriental frieze of birds, of which the Xanthian frieze is an instance, and inserted the human figures as a more important element, and left some of the original figures of animals in a subordinate character; just as we saw in the case of the Sphinxes and Sirens upon the archaic kylix (*Hell. Journal*, vol. v. pls. xl.-xlii.). The decorative character of both scenes, where no definite myth is represented, but where the figures are arranged with a view to symmetry, would suit the character of our vase as an early specimen of an Orientalizing style; it is a tendency which marks the decoration of *amphorae*, where the vertical handles would naturally interrupt the continuity of a frieze decoration; and hence we find our *amphora* already spaced off in panels. It is curious to note how the artist of the Myrina vase, much earlier than ours, instinctively felt this necessity, and has attempted to give the character of a metope-group to his scene by raising an arm vertically on either side of the human head<sup>2</sup> which he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for example the bronze cuirass from Patras already quoted.

<sup>2</sup> The head on the Myrina vase is to

to all intents the same as those upon the sarcophagi; it is perhaps worth noting that the same principle of deco-

portrays. The sarcophagi give us both systems. Where only a narrow space is available we have either human heads or single human figures; and where, as at the top and bottom, a long narrow band offers itself, the artist falls back upon the traditional frieze of animals.

The satyr in our *amphora* appears at first a remarkable type; he seems to be the progenitor of the 'langbärtigen, zopftragenden Gesellen mit Thierohren, Thierhuf und Pferdeschwanz die auf der Leidener vase (*Roulez*, Taf. 5) nach den Mänaden greifen,



FIG. 4

auf den nordgriechischen Münzen sie fortschleppen' (Klein, *Euphr.*, p. 34). And it is remarkable that our satyr is an almost exact counterpart of one upon a sarcophagus. Dennis (*loc. cit.* p. 20) describes him as having "the crest and mane of a horse with a very brute-like nose of a yellow hue, though the rest of his body is black save a large patch of red between the eye and ear," but he has been misled by the imperfect condition

ration is frequent in early Greco-jewellery in *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*  
Oriental gold work. Cf. the Lydian vol. iii. p. 129, pll. iv. v.

of the fragment to which he refers<sup>1</sup>; on examining it with a lens and beside the evidence of our *amphora*, there is no doubt that a satyr identical with ours (see Fig. 4) is there represented. The curious upward curve of the eye, the finely-marked hair, the squat nose, even the muscles of the limbs and the peculiar marking of the knee-joints are the same in both cases. Such a resemblance could hardly be merely accidental, and this is one of the strongest proofs of the close connection of our *amphora* with the fabric which the sarcophagi of Clazomenae represent.

To sum up, then, I have intended in this paper to draw attention to certain points of similarity between the painted sarcophagi, the Myrina vase, the vases of red clay with painted white ground, and our *amphora*; I have endeavoured to trace in them such tendencies as we should expect to find in the early Greek art of Asia Minor; in this way we may evolve some sort of formula by which the vases of such a fabric may be tested. The study is necessarily very fragmentary, perhaps wholly premature, in the absence of more evidence; but it may do something towards preparing the way for a more scientific investigation when the materials for it shall be forthcoming.

CECIL SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> The 'yellow' and 'red' here mentioned, and the 'polychrome treatment' (see *Annali dell. Inst.* 1863, p. 178) are also not due to different pig-

ments, but to accidents of baking; the only colours used on the sarcophagi being, as usual, black, purple and white.

## AMPHORA-HANDLES FROM ANTIPAROS.

MR. BENT has brought from Antiparos, and the British Museum has acquired, several of those stamped handles of diotae which have been the subject of numerous papers by various savants, and of a special work by M. Dumont (*Inscriptions Céramiques*).

To record the find-spots of the several classes of these handles is a matter of some importance, because they furnish us with archæological evidence in a matter of great complexity, where archæological evidence is rare and desirable—in the matter of ancient Greek commerce, its marts and its course. The stamped handles which bear the names of Rhodian magistrates and potters are, as is well known, found in all parts of the Levant from Kertsch to Egypt and Sicily; those which derive from Cnidus are also found in many places; Thasian handles are found chiefly on the shores of the Euxine sea, but at Athens and elsewhere also. Why Rhodes, Cnidus, and Thasos should in Hellenistic times have almost monopolized the trade in wine, or why these states should have monopolized the custom of using stamps for handles of wine-jars, we do not know. But the latter statement at all events must be true: there are but very few other known sources of stamped handles. In the lengthy work of M. Dumont there are published, besides handles of the three great series, only the following:

Two of Paros inscribed ΠΑΡΙΩΝ and ΝΟΙΡΑΠ respectively.

One of Colophon inscribed ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟΝ.

ΑΡΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ.

One of Naxos inscribed ΝΑΞΙΟ.

And one of Ikos (?) inscribed ΙΚΙΟΥ.

And in the very extensive series of these objects preserved in the British Museum numbering not less than 2,000 specimens, there is no certain instance of the occurrence of any locality besides the three well-known ones.

It is therefore a noteworthy fact that among the stamped handles found at Antiparos by Mr. Bent, which are but seven in number, there is not one specimen which certainly comes originally either from Rhodes, Cnidus or Thasos; while some certainly belong to other ancient cities. Here is a list:

1. ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΟΥ  
ΜΙΚΡΙΟΥΤΟΥ Bunch of .  
ΠΥΘΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ grapes.  
ΦΙΛΗΜΩΝ

Here Philemon seems to be the potter's name; Micrius, son of Pythocritus, the Astynomus of his city at the time when the diota was made. There are Cnidian handles which bear the name of an astynomus (*Dumont*, p. 23). but in the absence of the ethnic ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ we cannot be sure whether the present handle comes originally from that city.

2. ΨΩΙΡΑΠ
3. ΑΜΟΡ

No. 2 bears the ethnic of Paros; No. 3 seems to bear that of Amorgos, which lies not far from Paros. It is easy to understand what purpose was served by placing on the handle of an amphora the name of a potter, a merchant, or a magistrate (the last to fix the date); but not easy to see what object would be served by inserting only the ethnic.

4. . . . . Crescent.  
ΑΓΑ?]ΘΙΝΟΥ

5. ΕΠΙΠΥ ΟΡΑ  
ΧΑΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ  
. . . . . N Grapes.

6. ΕΠΙΠΠΟ . . . . . Head of lion (or dog ?).

Unfortunately the inscription of all three of these handles is incomplete; otherwise it would doubtless have enabled us to attribute them. The fabric appears to me to be unlike those of Thasos, Cnidus or Rhodes.



This cruciform monogram seems to belong decidedly to Byzantine times; and to indicate that even at a late period the custom of stamping amphora-handles had not disappeared.

The occurrence, from one source, of so many exceptional amphora-handles may well encourage travellers among the Greek islands to pay more attention to this somewhat despised class of antiquities; and raises a hope that if their provenience be in all cases recorded, such record may be of real service towards recovering the history of Greek commerce.

PERCY GARDNER.

## ON THE GOLD AND SILVER MINES OF SIPHNOS.

WHEN on a visit to this island last winter, I felt much curiosity about the almost legendary gold and silver mines of Siphnos, which in former ages made the inhabitants so rich, and which enabled them to build their 'Prytaneum and white-browed Agora.' The story of these mines we owe to Herodotus, and as the veracity of the statements of this historian, so far as Orientalism is concerned, is being sorely impugned just now, it will be satisfactory to find that on Hellenic subjects he does not entirely draw on his imagination. He tells us that the Siphniotes were the richest of all the islanders, owing to the gold and silver mines which existed there, but that they were mean in their donations to the oracle at Delphi, and hence the Pythian oracle prophesied ill for them. 'When in Siphnos there shall be a white Prytaneum, and a white-browed Agora, then will they have need of a shrewd man to protect them from the wooden troop and red herald.' When the Samian fugitives came and sacked their town, the Siphniotes recognized too late the purport of this warning, for the Samiotes came in boats painted with red paint, doubtless with the miltois or red paint, mines of which still exist in the neighbouring island of Keos.

There is another version of this story, and one which bears obviously on the mines, and which we read in Pausanias. The Siphniotes sent as an annual tribute to the shrine of Delphi a golden egg; but, being an astute race, they doubtless thought their gold might be better employed at home, so they sent a gilded egg, whereat Apollo was so enraged that he subnerged their mines. This is one of the stories attached to the frequent motions of the earth's crust and consequent encroachments of

the sea, which in former ages took place in the Aegean sea. We have the story of Delos being raised out of the waves for the birth of Apollo, we are told how Apollo himself raised up Anaphe out of the sea as a refuge for the Argonauts, and in our own times we have seen an island rise up from the sea at the volcanic Santorin. This Siphniote legend is a parallel case.

Many ancient writers speak of these gold and silver mines besides Herodotus, Pausanias, Strabo, Pliny, and others; and on making inquiries in the island I was told of two spots where it was commonly supposed ancient mining operations had taken place. The first of these to which we went is called 'the hole of the Holy Saviour,' from a little church close to, or 'refuges' (*καταφύγια*), a name common to all caves or grottos where in disturbed times a retreat could be found in case of the descent of pirates on the coast. It is a long ride from the cluster of villages where the modern life of Siphnos exists, not far from the ruins of the ancient town, to this point. The entrance to the hole is near the sea, to the north-east of the island; it is a very small entrance indeed, but leads to a perfect labyrinth inside, so that any one who wishes, I was told by my guide, could wander for many hours without finding the end, and that the danger of being lost was very great without a guide. This I fully realized during my short stay in the cave. Evidently the precious metal must have been in veins, which these multitudinous passages followed up; along the sides there were quantities of niches, where the workmen evidently put their lamps.

The appearance of this mine inside is as if sparkling with silver, and the stones we broke off from the side had the weight and colour of lead; there were stalactites here and there, as if water had percolated through, but no appearance of soil whatsoever. Numerous tools have been found inside, pointed and cone-shaped axes, and the marks of these instruments are visible on the walls.

The exterior however is the most interesting, for on the cliff, close to the sea-shore, exist certain hollows, called by the people *Καμίνα* furnaces, and in these it would appear that the smelting of the precious metal took place by the admixture of other metallic substances, such as iron and volcanic stones, which



contributed to the quicker liquefaction. All round these hollows are quantities of scoriae, which the ancient smelters have used and cast on one side, especially on the hill side, near a small church dedicated to St. Silvester, and from which the spot is called by the natives *Αείψανα*, or 'the remains.'

It was fortunately a very calm day, and by going in a boat and taking with us a 'sea telescope,' as they call it in these parts, being a tin can with a glass bottom, which, when put into the water below the ripple, makes it easy to distinguish objects at the bottom of the sea in shallow water, we were able to see traces of scoriae and hollows similar to those we had just seen, far below the surface of the water. This proves beyond a doubt that either the land must have subsided, or the sea encroached, since the time when the furnaces were used, and corroborates the substance of the legend as told by Pausanias. It is probable that below the present sea-level would be found the entrance into the mine, which was being worked at the time of the inundation, and that the mine which we had entered had been previously exhausted.

The second mine which we visited lay on the slopes of Mount Prophet Elias, to the north-west of the island, at a spot called 'the fissures' or *Κάψαλον*, a word used for 'fuel,' and probably referring to the quantity of burnt stones which lie in all directions. The entrance to this mine has only been lately discovered, being hidden by the thickness of the brushwood all around; owing to the burning of some of it a short time ago the entrance so long concealed from view was disclosed. On entering, the same features are disclosed as in the other mine, the appearance of the sides is silvery, and winding passages lead in all directions, and on chipping bits off there is a curious metallic ring. Inside have been found pieces of broken jars and lamps, which were doubtless in use at the time of the working of the mine. There are traces of sulphur here on the sides of the walls.

It is a curious fact that during the rainy season the far-famed potters of Siphnos come to the spot and pick up in the stream bits of vitrified lead, which they use for mixing with their clay to prevent its expanding; undoubtedly this comes from the smelting which once went on here, and this suggests another subject. Pliny tells us how celebrated were the potters of Siphnos, and

that clay was found three stadia from the sea, which made an exceedingly prized pottery, becoming black and hard when exposed to the fire and rubbed with oil. This clay is not found to-day, but nevertheless the potters of Siphnos are celebrated throughout Greece. In the spring time they start on their travels far and wide, and settle in towns and villages for days and weeks, until the place is supplied with large and well-made earthenware, amphorae, and cooking utensils.

On the adjacent island of Seriphos there are numerous traces of ancient mining operations. Above the town, cut on a rock very difficult of access, is an inscription in large badly-formed letters, as follows :—

ΠΕΝΤΕ ΑΠ ΕΜΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΕ ΑΠΟ ΣΟΥ ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΝ ΟΡΥΓΕ.

What can this mean—'Five from me, five from you, dig up a treasure'? Does it refer to the mines of Seriphos? Not far from the spot we saw a magnet mine, where the earth sticks to the point of a knife; probably this inscription refers to co-operation with a view to working this treasure.

J. THEODORE BENT.

13, GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE.

## A TORSO OF HADRIAN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

IN the *Gazette archéologique* for 1880 (pp. 52-55; pl. 6) M. Al. Sorlin-Dorigny published, with a photograph, an interesting statue of a Roman Emperor found at Hierapytna in Crete and preserved in the Constantinople Museum (cf. *Catalogue du musée impérial de Constantinople*, 8vo. 1871, no. 123). This statue was originally thought to be one of Metellus Creticus or of Caracalla, but—though the likeness is not very close—there can be little doubt that M. Sorlin-Dorigny is right in assigning it to the Emperor Hadrian. The Emperor is represented standing, facing, with his left foot trampling on a captive. He wears a cuirass, and a paludamentum which is flung behind over his back, so as to form 'une espèce de fond sur lequel la statue se détache en haut relief.' The cuirass, says M. Sorlin-Dorigny, 'est une des plus belles que nous connaissions et en même temps l'une des plus intéressantes. Le motif sort du banal usité pour ces sortes de représentations, qui se composent le plus souvent de griffons affrontés ou de prisonniers agenouillés au pied d'un trophée. Ici la scène est plus romaine ...c'est la représentation de la louve légendaire, des jumeaux, et du couronnement de Pallas, la grande protectrice de Rome, par deux Victoires ailées...La déesse est de face, debout et dans l'attitude de la lutte; elle porte le casque et la tunique talaire recouverte de l'égide; de la droite levée elle brandit une lance et dans sa gauche elle tient un bouclier; à ses pieds sont des deux animaux symboliques, la chouette et le serpent.' 'Les lambrequins de la cuirasse sont ornés de sept médaillons. Celui du milieu représente la tête de face de Jupiter-Ammon.'

Among the sculptures in the British Museum which were discovered at Cyrene by Smith and Porcher about twenty years ago is the torso of a Roman Emperor hitherto unidentified. This torso was found in or near the building called by the

excavators an 'Augusteum' (Smith and Porcher, *History of Discoveries at Cyrene*, London, 1864, page 104; cf. p. 76, where the same building is called the palace of a Roman Governor), and on account of the remarkably good style of its workmanship it has been thought to be a product of the Augustan Age (cf. *British Museum Guide to the Graeco-Roman Sculptures*, 1874, Part I. p. 16, no. 46.) What, however, I would now suggest, is that this torso is of a statue of *Hadrian*, which when complete constituted a substantial replica of the *Hierapytna* statue referred to above.

The other objects found in the building where our torso was discovered belong, so far as they can be dated with certainty, to a later time than the age of Augustus. And though the head, arms, and legs of the statue exist no longer, the cuirass displays a rich ornamentation which is almost identical with that on the Cretan statue of Hadrian—we find the same armed female figure, the two Victories and the wolf and twins resting on a floral basis. From this basis there springs up a spiral ornament on each side of the armed figure, which takes the place of the serpent and owl which appear on the *Hierapytna* statue. The latter attributes would seem to indicate, as M. Sorlin-Dorigny has already remarked, that the divinity represented is Pallas rather than Roma. The lower part of the cuirass of the British Museum torso is adorned with medallions which correspond (slight variations excepted) with those on the Cretan statue. The torso is now in such a poor state of preservation—it had lain in fact exposed to the weather for at least forty years before the visit of Smith and Porcher—that it is difficult to form a satisfactory opinion as to its original merits. The cuirass, however, evidently furnished an elegant specimen of decorative work and the Medusa heads (among the medallions) are decidedly fine. The floral basis is pierced with eight holes as if for the attachment of some metallic object. The paludamentum is arranged in the same way as on the Cretan statue, and there are indications that the Emperor's left hand clutched his jerkin at the side, and that his left leg was slightly raised. This leg doubtless rested on a prostrate captive, as is the case in the other statue.

It was suggested by M. Sorlin-Dorigny that the *Hierapytna*

statue was made to commemorate some particular victory of Hadrian's; and as Crete, at that period, formed part of the Province of Cyrenaica, he supposed that the event referred to might be Hadrian's suppression of the revolt of the Mauri or of the rising of African Jews. It is unlikely that the statue commemorates any special victory, but it is interesting—now that our Cyrene torso is identified—to find both halves of the Province of Cyrenaica producing nearly identical statues of the Emperor. The connection of Crete with Cyrene was probably at all periods tolerably close. In the fourth century B.C., especially, there must have been constant commercial intercourse between the two, for we find the inhabitants of Crete actually using numerous coins of Cyrene as *flans* upon which to restrike Cretan types and inscriptions (cf. Wroth, *Cretan Coins*, p. 6 and p. 35 = *Numismatic Chron.* 1884, p. 6, p. 35). This intercourse would still be kept up when the two countries became one province, and it is not unlikely that one and the same artist sometimes supplied both Crete and Cyrene with identical works of art,—compare e.g. the marble statuette of Aphrodite from Crete, (Spratt, *Travels in Crete*, vol. i. p. 72), with a copy of it from Cyrene which exists in the British Museum.

The head of our Cyrene statue of Hadrian I suppose to have been identical with that on the Hierapytna statue. And it is interesting to note that the Hierapytna head closely resembles a head which still exists on *another* statue from Cyrene in the British Museum—the statue of a male figure in civil costume who is in all probability the Emperor Hadrian (cf. *British Museum Guide to the Graeco-Roman Sculptures*, 1874, Part I. no. 23; Smith and Porcher, *Hist. Disc.* pl. 63).

WARWICK WROTH.

## THE DISCOVERY OF NAUKRATIS.

[The Honorary Secretaries of the Egypt Exploration have handed us for publication the following summary, drawn up by Mr. Petrie, of the results of his year's excavation at Nebirch. It may serve as an acknowledgment by the Committee of the Fund of the aid already received from the Society of Hellenic Studies; and as an invitation to further co-operation in the future.—ED.]

THE season which is now drawing to a close has been one of great interest in the work here, though of an interest which would scarcely be expected, since not Egyptian but Greek antiquities claim our attention.

We have here a city founded in the seventh century B.C., or earlier, and inhabited almost entirely by Greeks from its first settlement. Among its public buildings were a temple of Apollo with temenos, dating from the earliest period; a temple of Aphrodite, also existing from archaic times; a temple of Athene; a temple of Zeus; a *palaistra*; and a great enclosure containing two remarkable blocks of buildings.

Before going further we may point out that no city historically known can accord with the remains found here—the temples, the abundance of archaic pottery, the archaic coins, and the number of Greek inscriptions—excepting Naukratis; and it is here that a decree of the city of Naukratis is found. It is true that Naukratis has been hitherto fruitlessly sought near Desuk, on the strength of a passage of Herodotus; but there exists a far more definite authority, the Peutingerian table, which gives the positions and distances of towns; on that *Naukrati* is written on a road leading to the Libyan desert, running to the west of the river, and the distance given falls

within two or three miles of this place. If any student, however, should refuse to accept this site as Naukratis, it would then be a still more interesting place to him, as it would be a parallel site to Naukratis, an important town, settled by the Greeks in their archaic age, flourishing down to Byzantine times, and yet unknown in history.

The site is about half a mile long. In the north end of the town stood the *temenós* and temple of Apollo; here we found fragments of nearly a hundred bowls of an early period, incised with dedicatory inscriptions to Apollo. Of the first temple a few fragments of limestone columns, encircled with an early form of the 'honeysuckle' pattern have been found; on these the pattern has hardly developed out of the lotus, from which it can be traced in every stage on the archaic pottery. The first temple was destroyed, very probably during the Persian invasions, and was succeeded by a temple of white marble, of which some fragments of capitals and mouldings remain, richly painted in red and blue. South of the *temenos* lay the *agora* apparently, or possibly the *palaistra*, a large area without ruins, and bounded by thick walls on the three other sides. South of this the town extended for a considerable distance; close small streets, seven or eight feet wide, running through the mass of crude brick buildings, and now traceable by the shells and bones thrown out from the houses, and the streaks of stone dust used for filling up the puddles.

The potters' quarter was on the east of the *agora*, shewn by the kilns and the heaps of burnt earth. In the body of the town, south of the potters, was the quarter of the iron-smelters; here hæmatite ore, iron slag, and quantities of chisels and tools have been found of about the sixth century, B.C. On the western side of the town was the scarab factory, containing hundreds of moulds, where glazed pottery scarabs were made for export—very probably the source of many of the scarabs found in early Greek graves. That these could not be for sale to Egyptians is proved by the inscriptions being all more or less blundered; and their age is shewn by the names of Psamtik I. and II. being found, but none of the far more celebrated Aahmes (Amasis), who granted such privileges to Naukratis; this is much as if coins of Aurelian and Carinus occurred in a find, but not one of Constantine, and we cannot attribute this factory to a later date than 590 B.C. The town is,

however, older than this, as there is a burnt stratum underlying all the southern half of the town, at two to three feet below the scarab level; probably this shews the burning of a first settlement of wattle and daub shanties of the Greek traders, in the Assyrian or Ethiopian conquests. The temple of Aphrodite was in the south-western part of the town, as a piece of a dedicated bowl of 'Phœnician-Greek' ware was found there.

The area of the town has been dug out by the natives for nitrous earth until only the bottoms of the oldest houses remain in the greater part of it; and heaped around these mouldering walls are banks of broken pottery, including a great variety of archaic types. The so-called Phœnician-Greek is found in every variety, and passing by imperceptible stages into the ordinary Greek pottery; the egg-shell pottery painted white with orange patterns is also largely found; the geometrical patterns in red and brown are very common; and many other varieties occur which require to be compared with collections from other sites. Besides the early pottery two important classes of objects are found in the town—the weights, and the stamped amphora handles. No town in Egypt would be likely to be so rich in weights as Naukratis, a great centre of foreign trade; and no mound in Egypt has actually furnished a quarter of the number of weights that I have obtained here in only a few months. Over four hundred have been collected in this short time—a greater number than those from Egypt in all existing collections taken together. The stamped handles are also a class which will need careful study and classifying; over a thousand have been collected.

Beyond the town on the south is a great enclosure, 600 feet square, the wall fifty feet thick, and over thirty feet high. About half of the western side of this enclosure was formed by a mass of building; but it is probable that this was inserted at a later date, and that the enclosure is older. The building was founded by Ptolemy II., as under each corner of its foundations I discovered the founder's deposits of model tools and materials, together with his name—a unique group of objects of great interest in all ways. At the entrance to this building, which led into the whole enclosure, was a pylon, where two broken rams in white marble have been discovered, and a dedicatory inscription to the Theban Zeus, shewing that probably a temple of



Zeus was included in this building. Within this enclosure the greater part of the ground was open and unused, but there existed a line of small buildings along the north side of it, and two great blocks of crude brick building in the southern part; one of these consisting of passages opening into chambers has been almost entirely destroyed; of the other, consisting of deep isolated chambers, enough remains to shew its form, about 200 feet square. These chambers have no openings or connections for twelve feet from the ground; at that level there are doorways from a central passage and its branches; and the whole mass is thirty feet high. It was far more originally, as the chambers are filled with ruins of the walls. From various details, which we need not discuss here, this building and the great enclosure seem to belong to the early age of the town; later on Ptolemy II. inserted the large stone building in the gap in the great wall, perhaps where it had been ruined, and strengthened the great block of chambers by thickening the walls, and raised the floors of the chambers with stone chips: later still, in the first century, the chambers were much filled with rubbish, and the place was inhabited at the high level of the doorways only; and at last a Coptic church seems to have existed on the top, which gave place to an Arab cemetery. What the object of this building can have been is still doubtful, even after clearing out all the chambers. It may have been for store rooms; but looking to the great strength of the wall of the enclosure, I incline to suppose that that was a great temenos—probably of the Pan-Hellenic altar—within which was a treasury and storehouses; and these were so arranged that, in case of war, the temenos would be the camp, and the treasury the fort, of the Greek garrison.

Of the temple of Athene, and the *palaistra*, the sites are not yet fixed; the one is known from an inscription to a priest of Athene, who was keeper of the records, and the other from the inscription by four Greeks dedicating it to Apollo.

As I have said, a large part of the town has been carried off down to the foundations; the edges of it still remain, and further information will doubtless be forthcoming as they are gradually cleared away. What has been lost in the last fifty years is grievous; in the temenos of Apollo two inscribed marble stelæ were found a few years ago and broken up; and while I was here some—perhaps the only—remains of the columns and capitals

of the temple were found, and smashed in a couple of hours, some even before I could photograph them. All the lesser antiquities are destroyed if not saleable, and if of value are bought by travelling dealers, and retailed without any history in Cairo. No clue to the cemetery has yet been found, so we may hope that that rich field will be properly examined when discovered.

Among various antiquities which I have obtained, I may note also a large collection of incised names or monograms of owners on the bottoms of drinking cups; a series shewing every stage of the development of the crater handles with a head of Bacchus; a number of archaic statuettes in alabaster; two finds of archaic Greek tetradrachms; some fine late Egyptian bronzes; some good jewellery work of the first century, A.D.; and a large variety of terra-cotta figures and heads.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

NEBIREH, TELL EL BARUD

*May 11, 1885.*

# THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

## CLASSIFIED TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUMES I.—V.

Hellenic Studies, an Introductory Address, C. T. NEWTON.

### I.—EXCAVATION AND TRAVEL.

Delos, R. C. JEBB. Newly-discovered Sites near Smyrna, W. M. RAMSAY. Notes from Journeys in the Troad and Lydia, A. H. SAYCE. Where was Dodona? BISHOP OF LINCOLN. Contributions to the History of Southern Aeolis, W. M. RAMSAY. Exploration of the Boeotian Orchomenus, H. SCHLIEMANN. Homeric and Hellenic Iliion, R. C. JEBB. The Site and Antiquity of Homeric Iliion, J. P. MAHAFFY. The Rock-Necropoleis of Phrygia, W. M. RAMSAY. Some Phrygian Monuments, W. M. RAMSAY. Sipylos and Cybele, W. M. RAMSAY. Explorations in Aeolis, A. H. SAYCE. The Ruins of Hissarlik and their Relation to the *Iliad*, R. C. JEBB. Notes of Travel in Paphlagonia and Galatia, G. HIRSCHFELD. The Graeco-Roman Civilization in Pisidia, W. M. RAMSAY. Metropolitanus Campus, W. M. RAMSAY. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, W. M. RAMSAY. A Pre-historic Building at Salamis in Cyprus, M. O. RICHTER. The Ruins of Hissarlik, A. H. SAYCE. Researches among the Cyclades, J. THEODORE BENT. Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Phrygia, W. M. RAMSAY.

### II.—ART AND MANUFACTURE.

Stephani on the Tombs at Mycenae, PERCY GARDNER. On Representations of Centaurs in Greek Vase Painting, SIDNEY COLVIN. Pythagoras of Rhegion and the Early Athletic Statues, CHARLES WALDSTEIN. An Archaic Vase with Representation of a Marriage Procession, CECIL SMITH. The Erechtheum, A. S. MURRAY. A New Diadumenos Gem, SIDNEY COLVIN. On an Archaic Earring, A. B. EDWARDS. Stairs to Pandroseum at Athens, J. FERGUSSON. Statuette of Pallas from Cyprus, P. GARDNER. Votive Armour and Arms, W. GREENWELL. Bust of Perseus, A. S. MURRAY. The Ram in Aeginetan Sculpture, A. S. MURRAY. Perspective as applied in Early Greek Art, A. S. MURRAY. Statuette of Athene Parthenos, C. T. NEWTON. Kylix with Exploits of Theseus, CECIL SMITH. Actors with Bird-Masks on Vases, CECIL SMITH. The Pergamene Frieze: Its Relation to Literature and Tradition, L. R. FARNELL. Athene in the West Pediment of the Parthenon, E. A. GARDNER. Marble Head of a Horse, A. MICHAELIS. Herakles Epitrapeziot, A. S. MURRAY. On the Hermes of Praxiteles, A. H. SMITH. A Hermes in Ephesian Silverwork on a Patera from Bernay, C. WALDSTEIN. Hermes with the Infant Dionysos: Bronze Statuette in the Louvre, C. WALDSTEIN. Notice of a Lapith Head in the Louvre, from the Metopes of the Parthenon, C. WALDSTEIN. Antefixes from Tarentum, J. K. ANDERSON. Paintings on the Amazon Sarcophagus of Corneto, SIDNEY COLVIN. Two Archaic Greek Sarcophagi, J. DENNIS. The Pergamene Frieze, II. L. R. FARNELL. Clay Disks from Tarentum, P. GARDNER. A Statuette of Eros, P. GARDNER. Monuments Relating to the Odyssey, JANE E. HARRISON. The Metrological Relief at Oxford. AD. MICHAELIS. Athene and Enkeladus: a Bronze in the Museo Kircheriano, A. H. SMITH. Vase with Representation of Herakles

and Geras, CECIL SMITH. Amphora-stopping from Alexandria, CECIL SMITH. A Ring inscribed Attulas, C. WALDSTEIN. A Statue of the Youthful Asklepios, W. WROTH. An undescribed Athenian Funeral Monument, SIDNEY COLVIN. Ornaments and Armour from Kertch in the New Museum at Oxford, E. A. GARDNER. A Sepulchral Relief from Tarentum, P. GARDNER. Ancient Marbles in Great Britain (Suppl. I.) AD. MICHAELIS. A Phoenician Vase found in Cyprus, M. O. RICHTER. Pyxis: Herakles and Geryon, CECIL SMITH. Four Archaic Vases from Rhodes, CECIL SMITH. The Hesperide of the Olympian Metope, and a Marble Head at Madrid, C. WALDSTEIN. The Eastern Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, and the Western Pediment of the Parthenon, C. WALDSTEIN.

### III.—PHILOLOGY AND INSCRIPTIONS.

The Oracle Inscriptions discovered at Dodona, E. S. ROBERTS. On some Pamphylian Inscriptions, W. M. RAMSAY. On some Ionic Elements in Attic Tragedy, A. W. VERRALL. On two Inscriptions from Olympia, D. COMPARETTI. An Inscription at Cambridge (C. I. G. 106), E. L. HICKS. On an Unedited Rhodian Inscription, C. T. NEWTON. Inscription from Kalymnos, C. T. NEWTON. The Petelia Gold Tablet, D. COMPARETTI and C. SMITH. Points in later Greek, E. A. FREEMAN. Inscriptions from Nacoleia, W. M. RAMSAY. An Inscription from Priênê, E. L. HICKS. Inscriptions from Rhodes, CECIL SMITH. Note on an Inscription from Priênê, E. L. HICKS.

### IV.—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

The Pentathlon of the Greeks, PERCY GARDNER. Boat Races among the Greeks, PERCY GARDNER. Boat Races at Athens, PERCY GARDNER. The Battle of Marathon, W. W. LLOYD. On the Authenticity of the Olympian Register, J. P. MAHAFFY. The Pentathlon, E. MYERS. The Palaces of Homer, PERCY GARDNER. On the *Characters* of Theophrastus, E. L. HICKS. The Tale of Saint Abercius, W. M. RAMSAY. Vitylo and Cargese, H. F. TOZER. Telephoros, W. WROTH. Votive Coins in Delian Inscriptions, P. GARDNER. Some Questions concerning the Armour of Homeric Heroes, WALTER LEAF. Notes on Homeric Armour, WALTER LEAF. The Franks in the Peloponnese, H. F. TOZER. Views of Athens in the Year 1687, C. WALDSTEIN. Telephoros at Dionysopolis, W. WROTH. A Sepulchral Relief from Tarentum, P. GARDNER. The Homeric Chariot, WALTER LEAF. Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Phrygia, W. M. RAMSAY. The Bell and the Trumpet, A. W. VERRALL. The Trumpet of the Areopagus, A. W. VERRALL. The Libation-ritual of Eumenides, A. W. VERRALL. The Raft of Ulysses, EDMOND WARRE. Hygieia, W. WROTH.

### V.—LITERATURE.

Byzantine Satire, H. F. TOZER. Pindar, R. C. JEBB. On the Fragment of Proclus' Abstract of the Epic Cycle contained in the Codex Venetus, D. B. MONRO. The Poems of the Epic Cycle, D. B. MONRO. Sophoclean Trilogy, W. WATKISS LLOYD.

\* \* Besides numerous woodcuts and other illustrations in the Text, the following Plates produced by chromolithography, lithography, or fine photographic processes have been published in the Atlas which accompanies the Journal :—

On Representations of Centaurs in Greek Vase Painting (Pls. I.-III.); Pythagoras of Rhegion and the Early Athlete Statues (Pls. IV.-VI.); An Archaic Vase, with Representation of a Marriage Procession (Pl. VII.); The Pentathlon of the Greeks (Pl. VIII.); Bust of Perseus (Pl. IX.); Kylix with Exploits of Theseus (Pl. X.); Votive Armour and Arms (Pl. XI.); Exploration of the Boeotian Orchomenus (Pls. XII., XIII.); Actors with Bird-Masks on Vases (Pl. XIV.); Perspective as applied in Early Greek Art (Pl. XV.); Statuette of Pallas from Cyprus (Pl. XVI.); The Rock-Necropolis of Phrygia (Pls. XVII.-XXI.); A Hermes in Ephesian Silver-work on a Patra from Bernay in France (Pl. XXII.); Hermes with the Infant Dionysos; Bronze Statuette in the Louvre (Plate); Notice of a Lapith Head in the Louvre, from the Metopes of the Parthenon (Pl. XXIII.); Marble Head of a Horse (Pl. XXIV.); Herakles Epitrapeziotes (Pl. XXV.); Some Phrygian Monuments (Pls. XXVI.-XXIX.).

## THE TOMB OF PORSENNÆ.

[PL. LX.]

THERE are few truths that are more forcibly impressed on the attention of any one engaged in restoring the lost monuments of antiquity than the painful one—that no form of written words is sufficient to convey a distinct idea of a building which has been destroyed. No adequate reproduction of its form can be made unless the words are accompanied by a diagram or drawing of some sort, or when these cannot be obtained, unless some sufficient remains of the building still exist to make its restoration possible, or if neither of these be attainable, unless it proves to be part of a known series—in other words, unless some edifices exist, either before or after it in date, so similar in form and purpose as to enable us from a study of their peculiarities to appreciate the meaning of the terms applied to the one we are attempting to restore.

The Temples of the Jews are a conspicuous illustration of this truth. Though so minutely described in the Bible or by Josephus, nothing can be more discrepant than the notions entertained by restorers of their forms and dimensions, and it is only very recently that we have begun to perceive that they form a part of a series (though it must be confessed not of familiar or well understood types), and that we begin to realize their forms with anything like distinctness. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, and the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, were

important buildings of which we knew nothing till very recently, except from written descriptions; and nothing could be more various than the restorations that were proposed to reconcile their features with the verbal texts. Thanks to the excavations conducted by Messrs. Newton and Wood, we now know what the real appearances of these celebrated buildings were with sufficient exactness for all practical purposes.<sup>1</sup> But the tomb which Porsenna erected for himself 'sub urbe Clusio' has not been so fortunate. Even at the time when Pliny wrote no remains existed;<sup>2</sup> and there is no hope therefore of assistance from that source; and the building both in its form and extent seemed, till lately, to be so extraordinary and so utterly exceptional, that little hope remained of bringing it into any sequence by which its peculiarities could be explained, and a reasonable restoration be attempted.

Under these circumstances, having nothing but the 'littera scripta' to guide them, it is not to be wondered at that the restorations proposed were of the most varying descriptions. An amusing instance of this occurs in the first volume of the *Plates of the Roman Institute*,<sup>3</sup> where Quatremère de Quincy proposed one of the most singular, which seems to accord with no fact stated in the text; and the Duc de Luynes another on the same plate, which certainly reproduces all the dimensions and statements of Pliny with sufficient exactness, but results in a building so abnormally ugly and strange that it may safely be rejected. It may appear strange that two such distinguished antiquaries should read the same text so differently, while they are attempting to restore the same building; but the result is not uncommon, though seldom carried to so ludicrous an extreme. One of the best among so many attempted restorations is one proposed by Professor Beber of Munich. It is singularly ingenious,<sup>4</sup> and if we are allowed to neglect all

<sup>1</sup> The *Mausoleum of Halicarnassus*, restored by Jas. Fergusson; Murray, 1862. The *Temple of Diana at Ephesus*, by the same, extracted from the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*; Trübner, London, 1833. The *Temples of the Jews at Jerusalem*, by Jas. Fergusson; Murray, 1878.

<sup>2</sup> De Aegyptio et Cretico Labyrinthis satis dictum est—Lemnius similis illis. Extantque adhuc reliquiae ejus, cum Cretici Italicique nulla vestigia extant.—Plinii *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. c. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Instituto de Corrispondenza Archeologica*, vol. i. pl. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> Beber, *Geschichte der Baukunst im Alterthum*, p. 366, fig. 211.

reference to the purposes for which it was intended, and ignore all mention of the petasus, which was the most distinguishing feature in the design, it might be taken as fairly interpreting the text of Pliny, but as it stands it is quite inadmissible. In 1849, I proposed one which had at least the merit of conforming with every word of Pliny's description, and was a tomb.<sup>1</sup> It was therefore a *possible* reproduction, but I hesitated to advocate it as a *probable* one. The building seemed to me so exceptional, that I then despaired of making a restoration that would bring it into conformity with any series of known buildings, and admit of its taking its place in any established sequence. Since then, however, more experience in the art of restoring and greater familiarity with the architectural forms of all countries induces me to fancy that I am now able to bring Porsenna's monument within the confines of a series of five-steled tombs; while proposing a restoration which will accord with every indication of Varro's description, without doing violence to any expression used by him or by Pliny.<sup>2</sup>

The first thing that strikes any one on scanning the measurements quoted by Varro is, that they are all parts of a regular system; and that consequently if you accept one you must almost necessarily accept all. If on the contrary you reject any one, you throw the whole into a confusion that seems inexplicable. In this instance, the modulus seems to have

<sup>1</sup> *True Principles of Beauty in Art*, p. 458, figs. 79, 80.

<sup>2</sup> Namque et Italicum dici convenit, quem fecit sibi Porsena rex Heturum sepulchri causa, simul ut, externorum regum vanitas quoque ab Italia superaretur. Sed cum excedat omnia fabulositas utemur ipsius M. Varronis in expositione ejus verbis. Sepultus est, inquit, sub urbe Clusio: in quo loco monumentum reliquit lapide quadrato: singula latera pedum lata tricennum, alta quinquagenum: inque basi quadrata intus Labyrinthum inextricabilem: quo si quis impropere sine gloriæ lini, exitum invenire nequeat. Supra id quadratum pyramides stant quinque, quatuor in angulis in medio

una, in imo latæ pedum septuagenum quinum, altæ centum quinquagenum: ita fastigiatae ut in summo orbis æneus et petasus unus omnibus sit impositus, ex quo pendeant excepta catenis tintinnabula, quæ vento agitata longe sonitus referant ut Dodonæ olim factum. Supra quem orbem quatuor pyramides insuper singulæ extant altæ pedum centenum. Supra quas uno solo quinque pyramides quarum altitudinem Varronem puduit adicere. Fabulæ Hetruscæ tradunt eandem fuisse, quam totius operis: adeo vesana dementia quæsisse gloriam impendio nulli profutura. Præterea fatigasse regni vires, ut tamen laus major artificis esset.—Lib. xxxvi. c. 13.

been 100 cubits: every part is either that, or some aliquot part of that measurement. The square base was 200 cubits (300 feet); its height was one third of it or fifty feet, the angular 'pyramids' were 100 cubits in height, and half that, 75 feet, in breadth. The upper pyramids were two-thirds of that height—100 feet—and the central pyramid, as we shall presently see, was equal to these two, or 250 feet, or with the basement of fifty feet, was 200 cubits in height, which was equal to its width. The whole results in a building 200 cubits in width by 300 cubits in height.

All this looks so consistent that we can hardly refuse to accept it as a description of a real building. Besides this, the last paragraph of Varro's or Pliny's description seems to negative the supposition that it was merely a fantasy elaborated from the brain of some imaginative author. Etruscan traditions would not have attached themselves to Porsenna's tomb as a wonderful and exceptional building unless it had really existed and been of an extraordinary character; and though Pliny himself does not seem to have understood the meaning of the 'fabula'—it does not appear to me doubtful that it was meant to express a relation between the parts of the building in conformity to this system.

But, be all this as it may, the main fact appears to be that whether it was only imagined or actually constructed, the whole so hangs together that it must either be accepted or rejected in its entirety—no tampering with any part of the design is admissible; and be the result what it may, every feature of the building must be represented in any attempted restoration. So far as I can judge, as represented in the annexed diagram (Pl. LX.), the result is a building by no means unpleasing in design—to my mind at least—nor, except in its dimensions, exceptional among the tombs of the ancient world.

In the ground-plan I have divided the basement into three divisions, two of seventy-five feet each and one in the centre of 150 feet. There is of course no authority for this, but I cannot conceive any architect,—even among the Etruscans who were not famous for their æsthetic treatment of their designs—when dealing with so strongly accentuated a superstructure, neglecting to carry its lines down to the ground. By doing so the building not only gains in height to the whole



extent of the basement, but the whole acquires a significance which would be wanting in a plain surface, which has no apparent connection with the upper storey.

The four angle pyramids I have represented as square, though the only direct authority for this is that Varro uses the expression 'latæ' as applied to them. Had they been circular, he would have said seventy-five feet in diameter, or used some such expression; but besides this the exigencies of the design seem to require it. Rising from a square basis they would seem more appropriate; though this, as in the example of the tomb of Aruns, does not seem always to have been felt. Either form is equally consonant with the style. In the celebrated tomb called the Cucamella<sup>1</sup> there is one square, and one round stele, rising above the earthen mound, but so unsymmetrically, that even if there had been three more it would be impossible to form it into a regular five-steled tomb; and at Castel d'Asso there are several rock-cut sepulchres, which were originally crowned by square structural pyramids of some sort.<sup>2</sup> Generally they are restored with triangular pyramids of about the height of their breadth, like the so-called tomb of Zacharia at Jerusalem, but there is nothing to show that they were not surmounted by steles, twice or three times their width in height, nor is there any evidence, in fact, how they were finished. Possibly it may have been by a petasus-form like that of the so-called tomb of Absalom at the same place. It seems to me more probable that they were terminated with square steles like many we find in Asia Minor, as at Tlos, or the Harpy tomb at Xanthus.<sup>3</sup>

The object for which these steles were erected in this instance seems to have been to support the brazen or rather bronze ring, which formed the base of the petasus, and for this purpose a square form seems to have been more appropriate as more solid, and contrasting pleasingly with the circular form of the central building. Above the 150 feet, this reasoning does not apply, and it may have been either square or circular; I have adopted

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Ined.* vol. i. pl. xli. ann. 1832.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Ined.* vol. i. pl. lx. ann. 1833.

<sup>3</sup> Sir C. Fellows, *Travels in Asia*

*Minor and Lycia.* Two Vols. Murray, 1839-41. The plates in these works are not numbered, so it is impossible to refer to them.

the latter form for the 100 feet that we are told existed above the 'orbs,' as more appropriate, and terminating these angular pyramids in a more pleasing manner than could have been done, had the square form been carried to a point.

The crux of the whole design is, however, the treatment of the central of the five pyramids. There is nothing in Varro's description which would lead to the inference that it differed from the four angular ones; but on the other hand there is nothing to contradict the assumption that it did so essentially; and all the exigencies of the design seem to point to this having been the case. Nothing could have been more unmeaning than a square pyramid in the centre. In Etruria, at least, it could have had no tomb-like significance or appropriateness, and it seems to me almost impossible to make it fit with the 'orbis aeneus,' and the petasus which were the principal features of the whole design. There is also at least one prominent authority for this in the so-called tomb of Aruns, which is the only five-steled tomb at present known to exist in Italy which may be assumed to be a copy of this one, or at least be classed with it as belonging to the same order. In it the central pyramid is appropriately twice



TOMB OF ARUNS AT ALBANO.

the diameter of the angle ones (see woodcut). It is true, the comparison cannot be implicitly relied upon, for from the architectural mouldings and general character of the design, it is evident that the so-called Aruns tomb is of a late Roman

character—it may be the tomb of Pompey to whom it is frequently ascribed<sup>1</sup>—and it would not be safe to rely on its features as exactly reproducing those of a building erected five centuries earlier; but it is valuable as far as it goes. Besides this, strangely enough, though its general form and features have been before the public for nearly half a century, it has not yet been properly explored or represented<sup>2</sup>; though so near Rome it has never been dug into; and we do not yet know where or in what form the sepulchral chamber was. Doubtless it was in or under the central stele; but it is strange that this should still be left doubtful. There are in the neighbourhood of Rome numerous circular towers rising from square basements, all of which contain a sepulchral chamber in their centre; which is evidently the cause of their erection. One of the best known of these is that of Cæcilia Metella on the Via Appia, but even a more characteristic one is that of the Gens Plautia, near Tivoli,<sup>3</sup> with a sepulchral chamber nearly fifty feet in diameter. The series culminates in the tomb of Hadrian, which was the finest and largest of the class to which the tomb of Porsenna belongs, that was attempted in the ancient world.

In attempting to restore the building described by Varro, we must never for one instant lose sight of the fact, that it was essentially a tomb, though it is the neglect of this that has rendered all the restorations I have hitherto seen such failures as they are. Bearing it in mind, however, with the other circumstances above alluded to, I have not hesitated to follow the design of the tomb of Aruns, and make the central stele twice the width of the angle ones, or 100 cubits in diameter. And to preserve anything like the same proportion, to carry it in one flight to the whole height of the two stories of the angle ones, or to 250 feet. This gives room for a sepulchral chamber of any desired dimensions, and if it is thought expedient, in two stories, like the Indian tombs. I have drawn it as a circular chamber with a pointed vault of 100 feet. By most people this may be thought excessive, but when we see a vault of a similar character erected at least five centuries earlier at Mycenæ, in the tomb or treasury of Atreus, I do not think it preposterous

<sup>1</sup> *Istituto de Corrispondenza Archaeologica*, vol. ii. pl. xxxix.; Dennis, *Etruria*, vol. i. page 455, note,

<sup>2</sup> *Annali dell' Inst.*, ix. p. 50, 57.

<sup>3</sup> Canina, *Arch. Ant.* vol. iii. pl. ccxvii.

that under the most favourable conditions of a stone structure like this, they may have doubled its extent. To me it always has remained a problem how the Romans, as early as the time of Agrippa, attempted so vast a dome as that of the Pantheon, 136 feet in diameter—and so far as is yet known it was a first attempt—unless some very extensive vault existed before then, and nowhere would it have been more likely than in the tomb of Porsenna.<sup>1</sup>

The upper part of the tower must have been constructed hollow, as shown in the dotted lines of the diagram, but whether it was used as ritual chamber to the tomb or not is by no means clear. I think it probably was; but there is so little evidence available on the subject that it is hardly worth while arguing the question here.

For the restoration of the exterior perhaps the most valuable indication is in the last paragraph of Pliny; though whether it was contained in Varro's description, or is a remark of Pliny's, is by no means certain. It seems clear, however, that Etruscan traditions would not have attached themselves to a building, and indicated, however enigmatically, its extraordinary height, unless such a building had actually existed and been remarkable for its elevation. Nor does it seem difficult to translate it so as to make it accord with the rest of the design. It only seems necessary that whoever wrote that the height of the third storey was the same, '*quam totius operis*,' meant to express that it was of the same dimensions as all the other parts of the design, that is, 100 cubits. Architecturally, no other dimension seems tolerable; but this one, so used, makes up a harmonious, even if not a beautiful, whole. To assume that the height of the third storey was equal to all the three, or even to the two lower ones, appears to me absurd, and not borne out by any words in the text. Indeed, if you make the five steles that rose from the *uno solo* of less elevation, it throws the whole out of proportion; and it is necessary, if the whole is to be in keeping, that the elevation of the third storey should not be

<sup>1</sup> On second thoughts, if I were drawing the tomb again I would make the sepulchral chamber 75 feet instead of 100 in diameter. My impression is, that it was certainly larger than the so-called treasury of Atreus, but whether

double its dimensions is another question. In the present state of our knowledge, however, any inferences on this point must be so vague, that it is hardly worth while altering the drawing to express them.

less. Whether its form was exactly as I have designed it, may be open to question; but as far as I can judge, it looks like a part of the same design. The central stele I have made square and 150 feet in height, and the four outer ones circular and identical with those of the second storey. For all these there is abundance of room on the 'solum' formed by the roof of the sepulchral chamber in the centre, and they make up the total height of the monument to 300 cubits (450 feet), which, from the system on which it was designed, we might expect the architect was aiming at. Considering that this is thirty-four feet less than the height of the Great Pyramid, and that it probably was less than one-tenth of its bulk, these dimensions do not seem improbable for the *vesana dementia* of the greatest of Etruscan kings. It is not impossible that in the erection of his tomb Porsenna was proposing to himself to rival those of Egypt. The existence of a labyrinth in its base, which Pliny compares and couples with that of Egypt, renders this almost probable, but if so, it only serves to prove him a pigmy in comparison to the giant builders of the Egyptian Pyramids.

It is idle to attempt to offer even a plausible suggestion as to the form of the labyrinth which occupied the basement of Porsenna's tomb. It would be in vain until some one of these ancient buildings, from which we might obtain some analogous forms, has been identified with certainty, or until some traditions or descriptions shall throw further light on one of the most mysterious puzzles of antiquity. Concealment of the position of the sepulchral chamber does not seem to have been one of the leading motives in Etruscan burials. Protection was sought to be obtained by heaping vast mounds of earth over it, and protecting the foot of the slope of these mounds by massive walls which could not be penetrated without a considerable amount of labour. No secret attempt to penetrate these defences was possible. To reach the tomb the labour of a number of men employed for a considerable time was necessary, and in a manner which would not be thought of among a people who had any respect for the graves of their ancestors, or any religious feelings regarding the sanctity of the tomb; and so far as is known this was one of the leading ideas in the religion of this people. Under these circumstances the idea that Porsenna erected the labyrinth for the sake of misleading

people, and puzzling those who were seeking to desecrate his tomb, seems hardly worth consideration. If he wanted to protect it he would have done much better to have built the basement up solid. With a hundred feet of solid masonry all round he might have felt perfectly sure this would not be attempted. By letting people into the basement at all he certainly ran some risk of some one finding the tomb, in spite of the most ingenious attempts to bewilder them.

What Pliny tells us of the four labyrinths he describes—including Porsenna's—is that they were constructed of hewn stone and covered with vaults.<sup>1</sup> He does not seem to perceive much difference either in form or purpose between the Egyptian and the Italian labyrinths, though to us the one seems more like a federal palace and the other as if devoted wholly to sepulchral purposes. But the accounts of both that have come down to us are so indistinct, that no clear idea about them can be enunciated, especially as no remains of either are now known to exist.<sup>2</sup>

The probability seems to be that the basement of Porsenna's tomb was occupied by subordinate sepulchres like the Regulini Galeassi tomb;<sup>3</sup> or with chambers dedicated to sepulchral rites in some form we hardly understand. These may have been connected by dark vaulted passages in a manner which would be sufficiently puzzling to any one who ventured into them after their desecration and desertion, when their purpose or meaning was forgotten (which would have been the case long before Pliny's time), and so have given rise to the tradition of people not being able to find their way out without the assistance of a guiding tape. We know, however, so little about the matter that all these speculations are tolerably idle, and hardly worth discussing on the present occasion. All we really know—or seem to know—is that the basement certainly contained the sepulchral chamber, probably in the centre, but whether of 100 or 75 feet in diameter is another question. The rest of the basement, 300 feet square, was occupied by vaulted apartments, but whether sepulchres or chambers devoted to sepulchral rites or ceremonies is not so clear.

<sup>1</sup> *Omnes lapide polito fornicibus texti.*  
—Ch. xxxvi. p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of the plates (1 Abt. 46, 47 and 48) contained in the first part of Lepsius' great work, it is still very

uncertain whether even the site, much less the form of the Egyptian labyrinth has been discovered.

<sup>3</sup> *Canina, Etruria Antica*, pl. 1. li. lii.

One of the many advantages of the mode of restoration now proposed, is that the petasus<sup>1</sup> no longer presents the insuperable difficulties which most restorers have found in realising its forms. It was in metal, of course, but it is not quite clear whether it was formed with metal plates, rivetted together so as to form a weather-proof roof, or was composed merely of a series of chains used to support the 'orbis aeneus,' but so frequent and so close together as architecturally to give the appearance of a nearly continuous roof. Whichever was the mode of construction adopted, the term petasus could hardly be applied to any straight-lined feature, either conical or horizontal, nor to any dome-like form of convexity. In that case 'pileus,' or some sort of hat without a brim, would have been a more appropriate analogue. The petasus must consequently have taken somewhat of the form of a hollow curve, as shown in the diagram (Plate LX.).

The distance between the central stele at the point to which the petasus was attached and the brazen or bronze circle which formed its outward limit is almost exactly 100 feet in a horizontal direction; and the curve which joins these two points forms the quadrant of a circle, as near as may be, of about 130 feet. Without any contemporary example to guide us, it is impossible to say what was the exact form of the bells that were hung from it, or how they were suspended; but the intimation of a similar arrangement at Dodona, and the knowledge that it prevails in India and China to the present day, is one of the most satisfactory allusions in Varro's description. In India, as sculptured on the pillars of temples, these suspended bells are always represented as inverted cups with tongues or clappers, like modern bells, and that is the form they also take in China. But it is hardly likely that that was the shape of those at Clusium or Dodona. Most probably they were metal discs suspended by chains, which, striking against one another when 'agitated by the wind,' would make a sound heard a long way off.<sup>2</sup> It supplies a meaning and a use for the petasus,

<sup>1</sup> *πίρακος*, a broad-brimmed felt hat, such as Mercury is usually represented as wearing, and frequently found depicted on Greek painted vases, and elsewhere. In this paper it is used throughout to mean a circular roof,

formed with a hollow curve like those so generally adopted by the Chinese.

<sup>2</sup> Discs of various forms are I believe used for this purpose in Burmah, but I have no certain information on the subject.

which without it would be wanting. But the knowledge that these bells were suspended from it, 'ut Dodonæ olim factum fuit,' gives to Porsenna's tomb an ethnographic, as well as an artistic, value, which it is almost impossible to over-rate, and, when properly estimated, may lead to the most important results.

Hitherto, all restorers of Porsenna's tomb have considered the petasus as described by Varro, as quite exceptional, and as a feature belonging to that tomb, and to that only. This it seems, however, can only arise from our ignorance of the early forms of tomb building; otherwise it seems impossible to account for the almost universal prevalence of the umbrellas which surmount all, or nearly all, the stupas or dagopas in the East. An umbrella surmounting a tomb or tumulus of any sort, is a singularly anomalous architectural feature, and one for which it seems almost impossible to suggest even the reminiscence of any utilitarian use. It is, besides, the most unconstructive form that can possibly be imagined, and consequently nearly all have perished at the present day. Either they were in wood, and have perished from decay or been blown down; or they were in metal, and have consequently been stolen and appropriated to other purposes. So much, indeed, is this the case, that we should hardly know of their existence in India were it not for the rock-cut examples in the caves, and the representations of them in sculptured bas-reliefs, and in contemporary paintings. But these are quite sufficient to prove that no dagopa was considered complete without being surmounted by at least one umbrella. More frequently they were adorned by three or nine, or any number, up even to hundreds, when in the seventh or eighth century Buddhism ceased to be an architectural form. It is true we can hardly feel sure how far the small stone models which are so prevalent everywhere in India represent real buildings, and in China the examples are so modern that they are hardly recognisable, though in India we have bas-reliefs showing umbrellas used for this purpose at a date long anterior to the Christian era and till long afterwards.

None of the constructors of these Eastern petasi, or umbrellas, except, perhaps, in the case of that of Alyattes, seem to have adopted the eminently constructive expedient of the architect of Porsenna's tomb. By resting the 'orbis' that formed its lower extremity on four angular stcles or pyramids he secured a



stability that might have preserved it to the present time, had not the building which it adorned perished so entirely. It would be unreasonable to suppose this was the only case in which the expedient was used; but it is the only ancient one of which we have at present any certain knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

The slope or batter of the walls of the tomb as shown in the diagram (Plate LX.), is between six and seven degrees, which is, as nearly as can be ascertained, that adopted by the Etruscans generally in their tombs, but these are seldom drawn with such accuracy that the angles can be measured with certainty. It is, however, near enough for present purposes; and any slight alteration would make no difference in the reasoning on which the restoration is founded.

There is, of course, no direct authority for the Sphinxes which I have introduced in the upper part of the monument as figured in the Plate, but there is no sculptured ornament that seems more common in Etruscan design; and as appears from Mr. Dennis's work,<sup>2</sup> none that could be more appropriate for a building erected at Chiusi.

When all these elements are put together, as is done in the diagram (Plate LX.), the result is a design which certainly is not impossible, and to me does not even seem at all improbable. To many it must appear unusual and consequently strange, but it certainly is not without a certain weird beauty; and might be made even more so were more study and thought bestowed upon it. But this is hardly worth while at the present stage of the inquiry. The principles on which the reconstruction is based must first be established, and it then will be easy to copy details and gather suggestions which will make it more worthy to occupy its place among the great tombs of the ancient world.

#### SEPULCHRAL MOUND OF ALYATTES.

There are not two tombs which, at first sight, seem more unlike one another than that of Porsenna, which we have just

<sup>1</sup> For a description of these Tees or chattahs surmounting Indian dagopas I need only refer to my works on Indian architecture, *passim*, especially to the

*Cave Temples of India*, published conjointly with Dr. Burgess by the Government in 1880.

<sup>2</sup> *Etruria*, vol. ii. page 352.

been describing, and that of Alyattes at Sardis, as described by Herodotus. Yet, when carefully examined and studied by an expert, it would be difficult to find two monuments which are more like one another in all essential respects, and which throw more light on each other's peculiarities. Unfortunately, the passage in Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> on which we principally rely for a description of the tomb as it existed in a perfect state, is shorter and less detailed than that in which Varro describes the tomb of Porsenna; but fortunately, in this instance, enough now remains to enable us to form a very perfect idea of what the monument actually was, and these confirm the measurements and details of the historian to a very remarkable extent.

The great and essential difference between the two monuments was not in the design, which was remarkably similar in both, but in the material with which they were constructed; that at Clusium was of hewn stone, *lapide quadrato*, that at Sardis a heap of earth, *χωμα γῆς*, which makes all the difference. The one resulted in one of the tallest buildings of antiquity, 450 feet in height; the other in one of the broadest, or a mound 1,700 feet in diameter, according to Spiegelthal,<sup>2</sup> the one as remarkable for its vertical as the other for its horizontal dimensions. This difference of material is also the cause of the different relative durability of the two monuments, the hewn stone of the one making it a most desirable quarry for the inhabitants of Clusium, while there was no temptation for the citizens of Sardis to remove the worthless earth of which the other was composed. The consequence is that the one has been utilised to such an extent that even its site cannot now be ascertained; and the other is at this day so entire that its measurements can be ascertained with very tolerable exactitude.

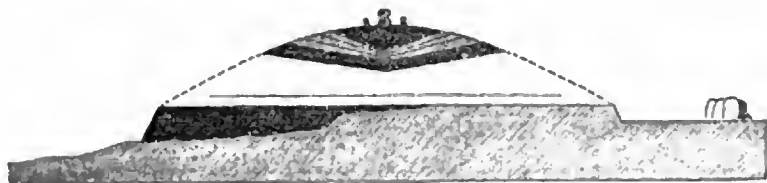
The dimension quoted by Herodotus is the extent of the base of the tumulus, which he says was six stadia and two plethra in circumference, and thirteen plethra in diameter. Taking the stadium at 606 feet and the plethrum at 100, this would result in 3,836, or a diameter of a little more than 1,200 feet, while Herr Spiegelthal makes it 355 metres, or about 1,175,

<sup>1</sup> Book i. chap. xciii.

<sup>2</sup> Olfers, *Lydische Königräber bei Sardis*, pl. iii. p. 545. Nearly all the

details here quoted are taken from this work, which is the only detailed account yet published on the subject.

which is quite sufficiently near to justify our having every confidence in the information obtained by Herodotus, for he does not seem ever to have seen the monument himself, but to have trusted entirely to hearsay.



TOMB OF ALYATTES AT SARDIS, BY SPIEGELTHAL.

The measurement of Spiegelthal was taken at the basis of the earthen mound, where it rises from the top of the stone terrace supporting it. As that is sixty feet in height, and has a considerable slope, it would have been considerably more if measured at its base; but where he got the measurement of 1,700 feet diameter which he draws on his plate iii. is not quite apparent. His sections do not bear it out; but all the plates in his work are on too small a scale, and not sufficiently detailed to be quite depended upon. It is sufficient for our present purposes to know that the base of the earthen mound is now so nearly what Herodotus stated it to be, and that it is bounded by a circle within which the base of the Great Pyramid could have stood. It was thus a large monument, as far as horizontal dimensions were concerned, though very inferior as to height, the altitude of the mound being only 142, and the whole height from the level of the plain being only 228 feet, or less than one half that of the Pyramid, while the material was so immeasurably inferior in quality, as scarcely to admit of any comparison between the two buildings.

From a very early age the tumulus of Alyattes has been burrowed into in every direction by robbers in search of the treasures it was reported to contain, especially the golden bricks with which the sepulchral chamber was fabled to be constructed. In these explorations they did discover a sepulchral chamber, but whether it is that of Alyattes is doubtful. The dimensions are small, only eleven feet by eight, and seven feet

in height; and, though constructed with very perfect masonry, it seems a very small kernel for so large a nut. Nor is it situated in the centre of the mound, or even nearly so, but quite unsymmetrically about 100 metres from the central point, according to Herr Spiegelthal's plan on plate iii.; and altogether it looks so unlike what we should expect in such a tomb, that it is safer to assume that the real chamber is not known to modern explorers. If it were known with certainty it would be interesting, not only for its own sake, but for the light it would throw on the form and position of that in the tomb of Porsenna, and other tombs of the five-steled class, regarding which our knowledge is now lamentably deficient.

The principal argument—as far as I understand it—for this being Alyattes' grave—is, that on the roof of the tomb a layer of ashes some inches thick was found, which was assumed to be the remains of the funeral pyre; and which, consequently, must have been there before the mound was erected over the chamber—which, of course, they must have been. But this would be equally applicable to a secondary interment, such as are frequently found in Etruscan tombs, and might very well have been the case here. It is situated at nearly one-half the distance between the real sepulchre and the outer edge of the mound—assuming the real tomb to have been in the centre, and the whole diameter of the mound to be 514 metres, as Herr Spiegelthal states it to have been. In that case an excavation must have been made in the mound and a chamber constructed—probably at the level of the rock—and the body for this secondary interment burnt on its roof before the ashes were placed inside, and the mound 'made good' over the sepulchral chamber.

Even, however, if it were found, the sepulchral chamber would not be of such interest for us at present as the external termination upwards. This, according to Herodotus, consisted of five steles or termini (*ὀψοί*) on which were placed inscriptions recording the mode in which the tumulus was erected. These have perished; but on the summit of the mound there still exists a platform of masonry about eighty-five feet square, in the centre of which there is now lying the terminal capital of a pillar. It is of a globular form, and nearly ten feet in diameter, and most probably was the central one, as another

resting also on a square<sup>1</sup> base, is found in the neighbourhood of the tumulus, very similar to it but very much smaller—only one-fourth its size<sup>2</sup>—which therefore probably crowned one of the angle ones. As a square of eighty-five feet has a diagonal of 120, this would enable the architect to place these at about the same distance from one another as the five steles on the 100 feet 'solum' of Porsenna's tomb, and, except that we cannot feel certain whether they were square or circular, they may have been very similar. Nothing remains of the pillars or steles which these globular finials surmounted; they may have been built up of small stones, or even of brick, like the platform on which they stand, and stuccoed, and the inscriptions painted or moulded on them; but as nothing remains of them, and we have no synonym on which we can depend, it is idle to speculate regarding their forms.

It is very doubtful whether we shall ever learn much more about the original form of the tomb of Alyattes than we now know. The degradation of twenty-four centuries has obliterated its most prominent external features, and the ravages of the seekers for treasure have nearly completed the internal destruction of the monument. Enough, however, still remains to enable us to assert that a century before the erection of the tomb of Porsenna, there existed in Lydia—from which country the Etruscans are said to have migrated—a royal sepulchre, in many respects similar to and nearly as remarkable as that famous tomb. Both possessed the peculiarity that the principal feature of their exterior consisted of a group of five steles, though possibly differing in form, and it may be in use. But it is still a question whether the tomb of Alyattes was not surmounted by a petasus resting on these five steles, like that of Porsenna. My own impression is that this was certainly the case; but in the absence of any direct testimony, either for or against, the analogies seem so remote that it is not at present worth while to insist upon them. When the subject is more fully investigated it may be otherwise, but at present it is so unfamiliar that it seems only necessary to point out that such may have been the case, leaving it to future inquirers to deter-

<sup>1</sup> From Spiegelthal's drawings, it is not clear whether the bases of these capitals were square or circular; Mr.

Dennis—from memory—thinks they are square.

<sup>2</sup> Olfers, page 546, pl. iii. fig. 2.

mine as to its probability. Yet the universality of petasi, or umbrellas, surmounting dagopas, or simulated tombs, in the East, renders its existence here more than probable.

It is unfortunate, however, that neither Herodotus nor Varro saw the tombs they were describing; had they done so, they might have mentioned many particulars which we are now unable to supply from the total disappearance of the one, and the ruined state of the other, of these famous sepulchres.

#### FIVE-STELED TOMBS AT PETRA.

At Petra, in Arabia Petræa, there exists a very beautiful and remarkable group of rock-cut tombs, but so singular and unlike anything that is known to exist elsewhere, that no one—so far as I know—has yet attempted to trace the origin of their peculiarities to any known edifices, or to explain what the form must have been of the structural buildings or tombs from which they were copied. To me it does not seem doubtful that their originals were five-steled tombs, the lineal descendants of those of Alyattes and Porsenna, though so modified during the six and seven centuries that elapsed between their execution, as scarcely to be recognisable. The form and nature of the rock in which the Petra tombs are excavated is another cause which has obliterated resemblances which might otherwise be easily traceable.

The finest and apparently the earliest of these tombs is one known as the Khasné, the beauty of which has struck every traveller to Petra, and which has been drawn over and over again by Laborde, Roberts, and other eminent artists, and now fortunately is represented in numerous photographs which enable us to correct and verify the mere pictorial representations. Its architectural design is so elegant, and the details throughout so exquisite that it must belong to an early age, before Roman force had superseded Grecian elegance. The Hellenic feeling is so apparent in every part that it must have been designed by Greek architects, and can hardly be dated later than the age of Augustus.

The most modern is one generally known as the Corinthian tomb, whose architecture is so contorted and vulgarised that it

may almost be called Byzantine. Practically it is of the same design as the Khasné, but at least a couple of centuries must have elapsed before the elegance of the one had been degraded into the vulgarity of the other. Between these in age there is a third known as the 'Convent,' or 'El Deir,' represented in the



EL DEIR, PETRA. (*From a Photograph.*)

annexed woodcut. It is essentially of the same design as the other two, but differing in detail as in age. There may be other tombs in the valley, similar to the three just mentioned, but owing to the savage nature of the inhabitants of the Wady Mousa, no one has yet been able to reside there long enough to

make a thorough and leisurely survey of the place. Laborde's<sup>1</sup> is probably best and most complete; but it is far from exhausting the subject, and leaves an unpleasant impression that many buildings may exist which are unnoticed in it. What would be as interesting as the discovery of similar tombs would be the existence of others, so varied as to enable us to trace the forms from which these three arose, or what the style afterwards became. They certainly did not spring perfect, like Minerva from Jupiter's brain. They must have had prototypes, but we search in vain, among all the drawings of Petra that are now available, for any trace of such a sequence. No one, however, seems to have visited the place to whom it occurred to look for them, though any educated architect must be aware that such a sequence did, even if it does not now exist, and most probably would be found by any one capable of conducting such inquiries.

The first objection that must occur to every one that examines such a representation of a tomb as that in the last woodcut is, that there are only three, not five steles, one circular in the centre, flanked by a square one on either side. It must not, however, be forgotten that we have not before us a complete tomb either structural or rock-cut, but merely a relief of a tomb modified to suit its situation on the rock. Unfortunately the nature of the cliffs that surround Petra does not seem to admit of a tomb being entirely isolated, like the Kailas at Ellora, and we have no remains of any structural example sufficiently complete to enable us, from its remains, to guess at its original form. Had it been erected in a cemetery or outside the city walls, the square of the base, containing the tomb, must have been completed, and such a lopsided arrangement as is shown in the rock-cut examples would have been impossible. It must in some fashion have resembled the nearly contemporary tomb of Aruns, (query Pompey) at Albano (woodcut above), and so modified the Khasné would become a reasonable beautiful sepulchral building; but without that modification it is unconstructive and unintelligible.

All the artists who have drawn these tombs represent the central circular stele as surmounted by a dome-like termination,

<sup>1</sup> *Journey through Arabia Petrea to Mount Sinai and Petra.* By Léon de Laborde. Translated, and published by Murray, 1836.



because they have no idea of any other mode of roofing a circular building. But it is not so. The photographs prove that the form of the roof was decidedly a petasus, or hollow curve, as is distinctly shown in the last woodcut. There is the slightest possible excuse for this in the Khasné, for owing to the Greek feeling that pervades that tomb, there is a faint ogée curve in its roof. Its upper part, however, is a hollow curve, the middle straight-lined, and just at its base it seems faintly to become perpendicular. In the El Deir it is wholly a hollow curve; and at its base—above the Corinthian entablature—there is a strongly-marked member, that may be a reminiscence of an 'orbis aeneus,' or something at least that had no synonym in Greek architecture.<sup>1</sup>

The most striking peculiarity of the square steles which flank or surround the circular one is the *bent* pediments surmounting two of their faces. As carved in the rock they look like parts of the broken pediments employed in bad Roman or renaissance work, but they are not so; they are not broken but bent, a form which occurs nowhere else that I know of except in these tombs, and must consequently have some peculiar local meaning. What this was seems tolerably evident when we try to restore the rock-cut examples to the form of the structural buildings from which they must have been copied. Unless the tombs had a back and a front of different designs, which is most improbable, the pedimental angle must have been turned inwards toward the circular centre. It could not have been outwards, or the rock sculpture would have shown it, but if inwards the building would present on all sides a series of architectural lines sloping downwards from the centre towards the outer edge of the roof. The architectural forms of the Romans would not admit of any petasus or any thing like it being applied to such a monument. But in the lapse of ages the forms of Porseenna's tomb may have become so altered, and the primitive meaning so obliterated and forgotten, that nothing would remain of the petasus but such a reminiscence as this.

The tomb of Alyattes was erected between the sixth and

<sup>1</sup> The so-called tomb of Absalom at Jerusalem is surmounted by a strongly marked Petasus, or hollow curved termination, which has hitherto been con-

sidered exceptional and strange, but may now, if the views above stated are correct, take its place among recognized architectural forms.

seventh centuries before Christ, and that of Porsenna at least five centuries before the earliest of these Petra tombs, and as they are placed 1,000 miles apart and belong to different religions, and, it may be, to different races, it can hardly be considered a source of wonder that such differences are found to exist between them. Similar transformations occur in all parts of the world. It requires for instance both study and knowledge to recognise all the parts of the Roman pagan basilica in the mediæval gothic cathedral—but they are all there, and can easily be recognised by any one who will take the trouble to trace them back to their origin. When architecture is a true and living art, its forms change slowly but always gradually, and it is very rarely that you cannot trace reminiscences of the parent style among the productions of even the most remote and apparently dissimilar progeny. In this instance it does not seem to me doubtful that these rock-cut tombs belong to the class of five-stele tombs to which these and those of Alyattes, Porsenna, and Aruns belong, and that though vast gaps exist in the line of argument required to prove this, it will easily be done when once attention is fairly turned to the subject.

#### EASTERN TOMBS.

Since the disappearance of Etruria from the map of Italy, it is in vain to look for any original or important tombs in any part of Europe. The Etruscans were the only civilized race of Tomb builders that have yet appeared in the West. Their kindred, the Pelasgi, it is true, indulged in the same kind of display to some extent, but we know so little of their tombs—usually called treasuries, that little can be predicated of them with certainty. The other tomb-building races of Europe never rose above the level of mound building, or of erecting rude stone monuments of the most primitive kind. It is true, nevertheless, that the Etruscans, by their absorption into that 'colluvies gentium' composing the Roman people, did so leaven the mass that we find the latter adopting to a considerable extent forms of sepulchral magnificence almost equal to those of their predecessors. The tombs of Augustus and Hadrian are splendid examples of this, and the Appian Way is lined with tombs of the most varied forms, and often of considerable size and

magnificence, but generally of the most varied and capricious forms, and based on no indigenous suggestion from which any systematic development can be traced. Generally they affect a circular form, like those of the Etruscans, but except that of Augustus, none of any size seems to have attempted to imitate the earthen conical form.

Since the fall of the Roman Empire no tomb-building races have occupied or become powerful in any part of Europe. The Teutonic and Slavonic races never affected that class of magnificence; and though the Celts surpass these races in their respect for the dead, and indulge in considerable funereal displays, their reverence never took the form of the erection of permanent tombs. It is therefore only in Asia that we can look for the successors of Porsenna's tomb, if they are now to be found anywhere. That they do exist does not seem to me doubtful, but if the distance of time and locality is taken into account, it is hardly surprising that their successors are not at once to be detected, and even when recognised it is with difficulty that their descent is realised even by those whom long study has rendered exceptionally familiar with the subject.

It does not, for instance, appear to me doubtful that the celebrated Taj Mahal at Agra<sup>1</sup> is a five-steled tomb, the lineal descendant of the tomb at Clusium. The four angle minarets, each 133 feet in height, have become singularly attenuated in comparison with those adopted in Etruria, though by a curious coincidence they are placed nearly exactly the same distance apart (300 feet), and adorn the angles of a platform containing the tomb, but raised only eighteen feet instead of fifty feet. The central stele has become exaggerated to a greater extent than the angular ones are diminished, and is surmounted by a dome instead of a petasus. It still retains, however, in the octagonal form of its plan, a reminiscence of the circular form so usually adopted in European tombs, and does contain in its centre a ceremonial or ritual tomb over the real one which is on the level of the soil. In Akbar's tomb<sup>2</sup> the distance in height between the real and ritual tombs is eighty-five feet, though how far the practice obtained in any but the most magnificent imperial tombs has not yet been investigated.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Architecture*, by Jas. F., vol. iii., page 597, W.C. 337, 9.

<sup>2</sup> *L. cit.* page 584, W.C.'s 333, 334.

The building represented in the annexed woodcut is a more direct copy of the class of tombs to which that of Porsennä belonged than even the Taje Mehal; but from the long interval



BRUDDHIST LAMA TEMPLE AT PEKIN. (*From a Photograph.*)

of time that elapsed between their erection and the distance of their localities, the differences, in appearances, are such that the resemblance is not at first obvious.

It is generally described as the 'Thibetan monument in the Lama temple at Pekin,' erected probably in the last century by Thibetan Buddhists for the purposes of their worship. It consists of a central circular stele of white marble of considerable height, adorned with architectural forms as capricious and unusual as those of Porsenna's, as is almost certain to be the case where no utilitarian purpose interferes to guide and steady the hand of the architect. In this instance it is not surmounted by a petasus, though the form is very usual in Chinese temples, but the finial really consists of nine petasi or circular discs, and an upper one so adorned with the caprices of Chinese architecture as to be hardly recognisable. The four angular steles are octagonal in form and have no apparent use, except as architectural ornaments or reminiscences of earlier forms.<sup>1</sup>

In this instance the central tower probably is only a simulated tomb. Long before its erection the Buddhists had ceased to use the tumulus as a burying-place for the bodies of their illustrious dead, but had appropriated its forms to enshrine the relics of the saints or patriarchs of their church, as also to commemorate spots sanctified by the founder of the religion and his successors. Whether the present dagopa is supposed to contain a relic or is merely a memorial tope no one seems to have had the curiosity to inquire, nor is it important that it should be known, as we know of no architectural form by which their destination can be distinguished externally.

A more regrettable omission is that it is not hung with bells, which are so usual an accompaniment to the petasi of Chinese pagodas, whose tinkling at this day takes us back with almost certainty through 3,000 years, when this same class of music relieved the monotony of the architecture, and charmed the ears of the worshipper 'at Dodona'; thus connecting the East with the West, and the present with the long-forgotten past, with a vividness and reality which can hardly be attained by any other means.

It would necessitate a much larger space than is at all com-

<sup>1</sup> As the photograph is taken exactly on the centre line of the group, and there is no atmospheric perspective in photography, the engraver has understood the central tower as forming part

of the gateway. I have other photographs taken at an angle which show it as placed on an extensive platform in the centre of the four angular towers.

patible with essays of this sort to explain the peculiarities of these eastern tombs, and to attempt to trace their derivation from the mounds and structural edifices of the West. It would also require an amount of illustration to render their forms intelligible to those unfamiliar with the subject, which cannot be afforded in this place. All therefore that is attempted here is to indicate the path that others may follow, who may wish to investigate the subject more fully. It is enough at present to show that the design of the tomb of Porsenna was not so exceptional or strange as it is usually assumed to have been, and that it may turn out—if the materials should exist to prove it—to have belonged to a class of tombs which were usual in the ancient world, and the reminiscence of whose form is not entirely lost even at the present day.

JAMES FERGUSSON.

## THE ISLANDS OF TELOS AND KARPATHOS.

HAVING visited these two outlying islands of the Sporadic group last winter, and having spent in them over two months, I propose to put together a few notes on the antiquities to be found in each. They are islands which are very difficult of access and rarely visited by foreigners, and are consequently peculiarly retentive of customs and myths which bear the stamp of extreme antiquity. Both these islands appear to have had a much more considerable population in ancient times than they have now, though much behind their neighbours on Rhodes and Kos in the arts and civilisation.

The principal feature of the small island of Telos is a precipitous mountain which rises directly behind the chief of the two modern villages of the island, on the summit of which is a fortress covering a triangular plateau about three quarters of a mile in circumference; the foundation of the walls of this fortress are Hellenic, on which during the Middle Ages more modern walls have been constructed. In the centre of this fortress there stands an Hellenic temple now converted into a church, and almost buried on two sides by the *debris* of Hellenic masonry covered with brushwood. From the gateway which enters the walls on the south side, a broad approach with steps flanked on either side by huge blocks of stone leads straight to the temple; the form of the proaulion is easily distinguished, and the north wall of the temple is almost intact and built of neatly fitting stones without mortar of a coarse bluish marble.

From a stone on the outer edge of the proaulion I took an

impression of an inscription which I afterwards found to be published in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* iv. p. 43.

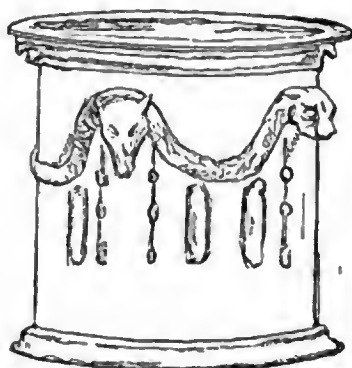
Also I took rubbings of some other inscriptions on the walls of the pronaos, doubtless *ψηφίσματα* which were too much obliterated to be of any value. The entrance to the *cella*, which is now used as a modern church, is also preserved, and is thirty-five inches across; the *cella* itself is covered with plaster in most places, which was fortunately sufficiently destroyed to enable me to see that the walls are Hellenic; it is five yards thirteen inches in length, by three yards thirty-four inches wide.

The triangular plateau is covered with the ruins of Byzantine houses, but at the northern apex there still stands an old Hellenic tower of the nature usually found in the islands. From the wall which runs along the northern side of the fortress, another Hellenic wall seems to have started off at right angles, which apparently divided the plateau across the centre, and which seems to have run in the direction of the temple, but is now lost in the *débris* of the houses. On this side the Byzantine fortifications run much below the Hellenic wall, and in what is left of this latter, the existence of a small postern gate is easily distinguishable.

On the fertile plain below the fortress there are many traces of antiquity with marble bases of columns, some of which have as yet escaped the lime-kilns, marking the sites of several small temples; these have been converted into churches during the Byzantine occupation, but have since fallen into ruins. In one of these I found the following altar-shaped tomb inscribed ΚΑΛΑΙΡΟΑ (?) ΧΑΙΡΕ, and this memorial tablet:







The Hellenic graves of Telos are curious and uniform, and constructed doubtless as the nature of the ground suggested. In two cemeteries where I excavated, I found that deep clefts in the rock had been chosen for the graves, and at about ten feet below the soil which filled these clefts, we came upon holes chiselled in the rock in rows along the clefts. Each grave contained pottery of a rude description pointing to a backward state of art, numberless coarse plates were found in each, from which traces of the feast laid out for the dead were not altogether obliterated, fish bones, remnants of eggs and figs being still preserved in some of them.

#### KARPATHOS.

On this island there are traces still existing of many towns; the first we examined is identified by inscriptions as Poseidonia; old inhabitants still call it by the contraction of this name Posin, but some years ago a name signifying 'drink' appeared objectionable to the sober-minded inhabitants, and they re-christened it, Pegadia or 'wells.' Here there are evidences of pre-historic inhabitants, the graves of whom I was unfortunately unable to open owing to the presence of the Turkish authorities, but I was able to obtain a large stone figure of a female idol, similar to the smaller ones I found at Antiparos, and which were engraved in Vol. V. of this Journal, p. 50. Arkassa on the west of the island is likewise identified by inscriptions, as is also

Brykountios, or as it is now called Bourgounta, on the north, but a fourth town mentioned by Strabo as Nisyros cannot be found; its site, of course, must have been one of the three other spots on Karpathos where ruins exist, but where inscriptions have not as yet come to light.

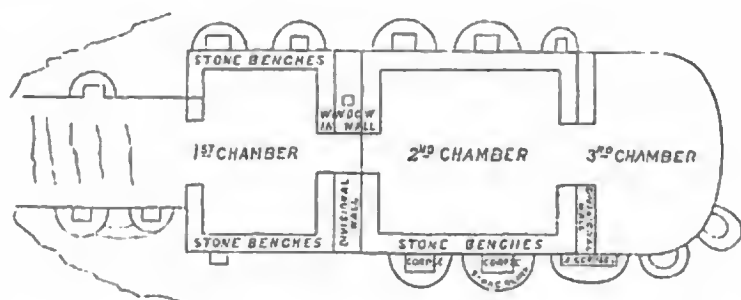
Most of these towns have been roughly dealt with during the Byzantine period, when extensive towns and large churches were built out of the material at hand, Brykountios was apparently the most considerable town during both the earlier and later occupations, and as it was situated at the extreme north of Karpathos, about two hours distant from the Elympos, and several days' journey from the Konak, we were able to pitch our tent there and excavate unmolested.

The town stood on a high tongue of land jutting into the sea; it had a good harbour before the ancient mole, traces of which are easily seen still, was destroyed; the temples and houses have been so mutilated to build the Byzantine town, that it is next to impossible to form any conception of their extent. This town is close to the excellent harbour of Tristoma, and in ancient days must have been a great commercial centre.

The rocks and cliffs around Brykountios are perfectly honey-combed with chiselled tombs of greatly diversified character; on first seeing them I judged of course that they had all been rifled long since by Byzantines and Romans, but on closer examination we found many of them undisturbed, and as to some of them which overhung the sea and were difficult of approach we were the first to roll away the stone from the mouth of the sepulchre. Our finds in these tombs were perhaps not equivalent to our first expectations, the pottery for the most part was but roughly adorned, proving that Karpathos was in its best days, as now, an out of the way spot which had made but little advance in the arts, and the chief interest connected with the pottery I brought back is, that it is the first to come from Karpathos and from these rock-cut tombs. But the tombs themselves were extremely interesting, and the great variety of periods of pottery found in close juxtaposition would suggest that the graves had been used again and again, just as the graves of the Karpathiotes now who only allow their relatives to remain a year in the tomb, after which they exhume the bones, tie them up in an embroidered pillow, and throw them into a charnel house.

On approaching the promontory there stands an isolated round rock about thirty feet in height; this is entered by a chiselled passage with tombs on either side, and tombs above these on another level all of which are now empty, and would appear originally to have been closed by an iron or thin marble slab, for round each of the holes is a groove into which a slab has been introduced: close around this rock are numerous shallow tombs cut in the rock, some of which we found unopened, but they contained nothing but one or two coins which crumbled in our hands when we touched them, doubtless the obolos for Charon.

Proceeding along the cliff we found tombs of every possible description, single chambers, double chambers, tombs one over the other, tombs with steps above them cut in the rock, as if for ornamentation, but the most frequent and those which we found the least disturbed were those constructed like this plan:



You enter by a sloping *dromos* with walls on either side chiselled in the rocks, in which were generally two or three tombs much ruder than those inside, and invariably containing ware of a much more recent period, Cyrenaic ware similar to what we have from Cyprus, and objects of pottery of rough material.

After clearing the circular entrance to the tomb from rubbish you enter a good sized chamber. About ten feet square and six in height with stone benches round, all formed by chiselling the rock; the graves are to the right and left and are after a

uniform pattern consisting of a chamber cut deep into the rock with a terrace or bench left all round, and the corpse and pottery deposited into a sort of well which was sunk slightly below the level of the floor. These tombs were closed with very large stones and covered with a thick cement, in many cases the outer chamber had likewise been entirely covered with cement, and sometimes we saw traces of patterns and writing of a late date in Byzantine characters. Only one very faint inscription appeared to be of a good period, and curiously enough it was to the memory of a man whose name occurs in an inscription built into one of the later churches, the name was *Auloios* which I cannot find in any glossary of ancient Greek names. In another grave we found a marble memorial tablet in letters of a good period to the memory of one Menekrates, and in this grave we found a larger collection of pottery than anywhere else, no less than twenty plates, ten lamps, several lamp feeders, and endless specimens of smaller articles. In one grave we found a *pythos* full of calcined bones, and in the middle of the bones a prettily executed *mastos* of black pottery.

To return to the plan, the second chamber is entered by a low door, and in the divisional wall three feet thick are two windows, one over and the other beside the door. There has been a door between the two chambers, the hinge holes of which are still visible. This second chamber is considerably larger than the first, but is constructed on the same plan. The third chamber, which does not seem to have had a door or windows, contained tombs of a later date and was finished off in a much ruder fashion being very much lower, and as will be seen from the plan the tombs around it were never completed; there was a curious long tomb between the second and third chambers with two corpses in it, so that when emptied we could crawl through from one chamber to the other. This idea of connecting two tombs seems to have been of later date, for most of those outside were thus connected.

On the spot on which our tent was pitched there was a quadrangle for tombs, two sides of which had been beautifully chiselled out of the rock and furnished with two rows of tombs, all of which, however, had been opened; it was curious on a vacant space to see the chiselled plan of a tomb which had been designed but never executed.

Another class of tomb we accidentally hit upon consisted of natural holes in the cliff in almost inaccessible places overhanging the sea; the entrances had been closed with cement and stones, and some of them contained as many as four corpses; the pottery in these tombs was of the best period, big *pithoi* with the maker's mark on, and well glazed things, which as a rule had been rare in the chiselled tombs.

On the small island of Saria, which is separated from the north of Karpathos by a narrow strait, we found similar rock-cut tombs, none of which, however, had more than one chamber with a tomb on either side, and a narrow trench between. All these tombs had been rifled, but amongst the *débris* in them we saw more beautiful bits of pottery than any we had found in the unrifled tombs. On Saria there exists an old watch-tower with a curious water conduit chiselled in the rock leading to it; this tower was apparently built to protect the only fertile portion of the island. It was Ross's idea that the Nisyros of Strabo was on Saria, but beyond the slight similarity of name there do not seem to be any other grounds for this conjecture.

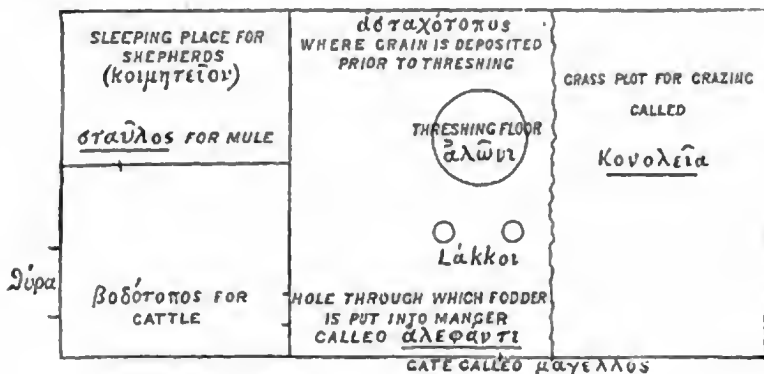
#### KARPATHIOTE DIALECT.

As a field for the study of modern Greek manners and customs, with a view to comparing them with antiquity, I consider Karpathos almost unique; at their ceremonies connected with religious worship, deaths, marriages, and births, medical cures, exorcisms, incantations, and so forth, we came across things, by entering into the routine of daily life, which can have changed little during many centuries.

Before going to Karpathos last winter a passage in Ludwig Ross's *Inselreisen* (which book contains the only reliable information we have on this remote island) excited my curiosity. It ran as follows: 'The village of Olympos, or Elymbos, has about 250 houses, the dialect of the Elympites must be in the highest degree Hellenic, their ballads and songs so poetical that they often move the listeners to tears. I have heard such wonderful things related of them, that it was with great grief that I was not able to visit this place.'

Added to this, former experience in the Cyclades had taught me that the existence of an almost classical Greek-speaking population in the remote islands was quite possible, so it was with keen interest that we took up our residence for a few weeks there. Glossaries of words in use in out-of-the-way corners of Greece have appeared, but none, as yet, from Elympos, so I will here say a few words about the dialect, hoping thereby to induce others more competent than myself to collect a glossary of these words and expressions, and to confer a boon on philology and Hellenic studies alike.

For the most part the inhabitants of this village are a wild, uncultured race of shepherds, and their customs of great value to the student of folk lore and comparative mythology, and it was in the pastoral life of the place that we found most to interest us; about an hour from Elympos is a hamlet, or rather a collection of small homesteads, where the shepherds from the mountains pass the three winter months with their flocks and their families. Each homestead is constructed on the same principle as on the accompanying plan.



The hamlet is called Stavlalonia, from the fact that each house has its σταῦλος and its ἄλῳνι, and in connection with this homestead there are several curious words. In the first place you enter a θύρα, not a πόρτα, the usual word in Greek parlous for a door. Then there is the ἄλεφάντι, a hole in the wall through which fodder is introduced into the manger, the Κονολεῖα, a grass plot where the mule is tethered, and the

Λάκκοι, or holes in the ground where the grain is buried when threshed; this, I fancy, is the same custom which they practised in antiquity when the holes were called *σιροί*.

These shepherds call their mules *κτήματα*, or possessions, and do not understand the use of any such word as *ζῶα* or *μουλάρια*, common elsewhere in Greece; this use of the word *κτήματα* is, I take it, of distinctly classical origin. Their goats they called *χίλια*, or thousands, a word suggestive of patriarchal life and flocks which could not be counted for number; and in their distinctive words for goats they have many curious words, for example *πολιομούρια* is used for goats with grey faces and ears, retaining the classical use of the word *πολιδός*, which in the vulgar is always *ψαρός*.

*Κόρνοψ* is used to express a goat which is black behind and white in front. Is this word the same as the word *Κόρνοψ*, used by Strabo, instead of *πάρνοψ*, to signify a locust? Again, they use words to distinguish goats, which must have crept in through a Latin-Byzantine agency; for example, *μαξιλλάτος*, for a goat with reddish cheeks, the word *μαξιλλάρια* being now only used in the modern language for a pillow. *ρούσσόμερτος*, too, expresses the same class of goat—the word *ρούσσιος* being unknown in modern Greek, but common amongst Byzantine authors, who adopted the Latin word *russeus* for red.

They use the expression *ἀπ' εἰκασμοῦ ὁμιλῶ*, instead of the usual *μέ συμπερασμὸν*, to express 'I speak from conjecture.' I don't think the form of the word *εἰκασμός* occurs in modern Greek; *εἰκασία* does, but I never heard it used in this idiomatic way which we find in Strabo and later Byzantine writers. For an apron they use the New Testament word *λέντιον*, instead of the vulgar *ποδιά* or *μπροσθελλά*, and the narrow alleys of Elympos are called *ρύμαι*. Now this again is a New Testament word, being used in the Acts for the street which is called 'straight,' and suggests a comparison with the celebrated oracle *ἔσται μὲν Ῥώμη ῥύμη καὶ Δῆλος ἄδηλος*.

A young man they speak of as *ἄωρος*, 'unripe,' reminding us of Herodotus, *ἄωρος θανείν*, and Plutarch, *ἄωρος πρὸς γάμον*.

*Κανάχια* is a word in use for caresses, kisses, which strikes one as a possible survival of the classical words, *κανάχη*, *κανάσσω*, to make a sharp noise; though this meaning was originally confined to the sound of water, there is no apparent

reason why, after the lapse of ages, it should not be applied to the noise produced by the lips.

There is a place near Elympos where labourers are accustomed to meet together morning and evening, so that they may go to and from their work in company. The spot is situated at the summit of a beetling cliff, and they call it ἀποθόκτρια, which appears as if it was connected with the classical word ἀποθρόσκω, which was used to express the abrupt rising of a cliff. Να μεθάρμεν, 'let us change places,' appears as if connected with the classical word μεθάρμοσις. Words like νικαδὸ for πρωί, early in the morning, and others of curious, and in many cases inexplicable, origin are to be found at Elympos.

But the most curious thing of all in connection with the Elympitan dialect is the existence of a gamma which is introduced under circumstances which are at once suggestive of the digamma and its existence in real life. This gamma is especially remarkable in a dialect which drops the ordinary gamma on every possible occasion, for they say ἤτρωα for ἔτρωγον, I ate, and ἤlea for ἔλεγον, I said, ἔω for ἐγώ, and endless other instances.

Before the word υἱός, a son, they place a hard gamma, which I have not only heard, but seen written in marriage settlements. A mother calls to her son Γυιέμου. Then this gamma is inserted after the diphthong εῦ: for example, they say πιστεύομεν and δουλεύομεν, instead of πιστεύομεν and δουλεύομεν. This gamma, I understand likewise, is found in the Cypriote dialect, though not in quite so pronounced a degree; wherever it occurs this intrusive gamma is always hard and perfectly distinct from the modern use of the gamma, and reminding one of the change which has made the Latin *vastare* become *guastare* in Italian, and *gâter* in French.

THEODORE BENT.



## A TERRA-COTTA DIADUMENOS.

[PL. LXI.]

THE position of Polykleitos in the history of Greek sculpture is peculiarly tantalizing. We seem to know a good deal about his work. We know his statue of a Doryphoros from the marble copy of it in Naples, and we know his Diadumenos from two marble copies in the British Museum. Yet with these and other sources of knowledge, it happens that when we desire to get closer to his real style and to define it there occurs a void. So to speak, a bridge is wanting at the end of an otherwise agreeable journey, and we welcome the best help that comes to hand. There is, I think, some such help to be obtained from the terra-cotta statuette recently acquired in Smyrna by Mr. W. R. Paton.

But first it may be of use to recall the reasons why the marble statues just mentioned must fail to convey a perfectly true notion of originals which we are justified in assuming were of bronze. In each of these statues the artist has been compelled by the nature of the material to introduce a massive support in the shape of a tree stem. That is at once a new element in the design, and, as a distinguished French sculptor<sup>1</sup> has rightly observed, this new element called for a modification of the entire figure. This would have been true of a marble copy made even

<sup>1</sup> M. Eugène Guillaume, in Rayet's *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, pt. 3, pl. 1 (Doryphorus). The Vaison Diadumenus is given by Rayet in pt. 4, pl. 1, and the De Janze bronze statuette in the Bibliothèque at Paris, in pt. 4, pl. 2. Cf. Michaelis in the *Annali*

*dell' Inst. Arch.* 1878, p. 5. He gives the de Janze bronze in pl. B, the Farnese Diadumenus in pl. A, the Vaison Diadumenus in the *Monumenti dell' Inst. Arch.* x. pl. 49, and the Doryphorus, *ibid.* pl. 50.

in the time of Polykleitos himself. But none of the marble copies of his works that we possess go nearly so far back. They are separated from him by centuries, during which some striking innovations were made. In particular a new canon of proportions for the human figure had been introduced by Lysippos, and this canon, which affected Polykleitos more than any other



THE VAISON DIADUMENOS.

sculptor, had become the standard for subsequent art. The copyist of later days was thus in danger of incorporating the system of proportions in which he had been trained with the actual proportions of Polykleitos whom he was set to imitate. We see this clearly in the marble statue of a Diadumenos from Vaison, in the British Museum. The proportion of torso to

thigh is there the proportion introduced by Lysippos, while the shape of the head, the great breadth of the shoulders, and perhaps some other features are no less distinctly retained from Polykleitos. In such circumstances no two copyists could be expected to work alike, and accordingly in another marble statue of a Diadumenos, which the British Museum was fortunate in obtaining from the Farnese collection, we find much less of Lysippos. The length of the torso and the thigh is more equalized, and we seem to be getting back nearer to the actual proportions of the original in this respect; since it can hardly be doubted that in the canon of Polykleitos a long and massive torso was as conspicuous a feature as was the long thigh in the canon of Lysippos.

But these two statues, though they retain much from the bronze original, are yet far from adequate to convey an exact notion of its proportions and style. We must still look for a copy executed under more favourable conditions. In some measure we have that in Mr. Paton's terra-cotta. The diminished scale would no doubt lead to error in some parts. But there are, here at least, no exigencies of material to call for modifications. In such details as the hollowing out of the pupils of the eyes, in the gilding of the diadem of which traces only now remain, and in the peculiar form of the nipple on the right breast, the artist has obviously followed a bronze original. It must have been from this motive also, I think, that he has worked over the whole surface with a fine ivory tool, so as to break, by an infinite series of scarcely perceptible touches, the light which falls on the figure, and which otherwise would have a glossy effect on the clay. One of the charms of fine Greek bronzes is the subtle preparation of all surfaces for the effects of light. I need not say that this is also one of the charms of nature. We may conclude then that the sculptor of the terra-cotta was inspired by a work in bronze—not precisely inspired to imitate the actual surface of a bronze, but to produce by means of his own an effect which he had observed in a fine bronze.

A few measurements will show that he was quite independent of Lysippos in the matter of proportions, and for this purpose I have compared the terra-cotta with the Vaison Diadumenos, adding also certain measurements of the Farnese statue to

confirm what has been said as to its being the nearer of the two to the original of Polykleitos :

	TERRA-COTTA.	VAISON.	FARNES.
Crown of head to below knee-cap . . . . . }	$11\frac{1}{2}'' = \cdot 295$ m.	$54'' = 1\cdot 373$ m.	—
Collar bones to top of 1 mbs	$4\frac{1}{2}'' = \cdot 119$ m.	$21'' = \cdot 530$ m.	$16\frac{1}{4}'' = \cdot 428$ m.
Length of thigh as marked in diagram . . . . . }	$4\frac{3}{8}'' = \cdot 111$ m.	$22\frac{3}{4}'' = \cdot 568$ m.	$16\frac{1}{2}'' = \cdot 413$ m.
Elbow to elbow . . . .	$7\frac{1}{2}'' = \cdot 200$ m.	$37'' = \cdot 940$ m.	—

In comparing the measurements of so small a figure as the terra-cotta with a statue rather over life-size, there is so much liability to error, that I would have hesitated but for the marked manner in which the terra-cotta inverts the proportions of Lysippos, and preserves those of Polykleitos. No error that I can have made will alter that fact, which indeed is apparent at the first glance.

In the Vaison statue the massiveness of the shoulders and arms is a noticeable feature; in the terra-cotta it is even striking, so much so that it may be open to doubt whether there is not here some exaggeration. The neck is robust and very finely fashioned, forming a pleasant contrast to the too short neck of the Vaison figure. The head is practically of the same shape as in both the marble statues, and we may take it to represent the original so far. But the terra-cotta has this advantage that the nose is intact. It is the same long and finely formed nose which we see in the head of Hera from Agrigentum,<sup>1</sup> now generally accepted as one of the best, if not the best representation we possess of a female head by Polykleitos. The upper lip is rendered with much the same effect as in the Hera. Throughout the figure the modelling of bones and muscle is carried out with great refinement as well as with force. But the artist is not responsible for a small part under the ribs on the right side. That with some other parts which interfere less with the artistic effect is the work of the restorer.

<sup>1</sup> Published by Helbig in *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* ix. pl. 1.

In conclusion, I feel bound to approach the difficult question of the date of this terra-cotta. It is no doubt possible that it may have been made after the time of Lysippos by an artist who had the original before him, or perhaps rather some good copy, and who rigidly excluded from his view all his own special training, in such matters as proportion at least. But there is a small bronze in the Bibliothèque at Paris, representing this same subject, which again shows how difficult it was for an artist living after the time of Lysippos to get away from his influence. And thus, while unwilling to call such an escape impossible, I would still prefer to think that the terra-cotta has been executed previous to this over-mastering influence. But how far previous? Between Polykleitos and Lysippos more than a century elapsed, during which period we may assume that the statues of athletes by the earlier of these two masters continued to attract the admiration of artists. If we must choose between the beginning and the end of this period, I would choose the end; for this reason, that the terra-cotta seems to me to have a decided mark of the intervening influence of Praxiteles. The manner in which the thighs are modelled recalls nothing so much as the *Hermes of Olympia*. In *Callistratus*,<sup>1</sup> we have a description of a statue of a *Diadumenos* by Praxiteles, and if everything that *Callistratus* said was intelligible and true, we might suppose that Praxiteles also was among those who made a special study of the type of athlete by Polykleitos. So much at least seems certain, that the maker of the terra-cotta has engrafted on his model *Diadumenos* some of the manner of Praxiteles. For this among other reasons, we may perhaps be justified in assigning it to the short period between Praxiteles and Lysippos.

To judge from the appearance of the clay, the figure must have been made in Asia Minor, and if in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, where I understand Mr. Paton acquired it, there would be no difficulty then in accounting for an acquaintance with the work of Polykleitos, since Ephesus possessed one of his most famous statues, the *Amazon*.

<sup>1</sup> Stat. ii.

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM COS, &amp;c.

LAST June I received from Mr. Newton a set of squeezes from inscriptions which had been sent him by Mr. Petrides, in order that if unpublished they might appear in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. As to their provenance, Mr. Petrides has kindly supplied me with the following information. They were sent to him from the island of Symi, and as far as he can understand they must have been found either on the island of Cos or on the mainland of Asia Minor, opposite to these islands. From the inscriptions themselves it will appear that this view is in part at least correct; for the inscriptions numbered 6, 8, 9 and 10 are certainly from Cos. 1, 3, and perhaps 4, however, seem to belong to Rhodes: the rest bear no internal indication such as to enable us to assign their origin to any particular place. It is clear then, that the evidence as to provenance is not definite enough to override any internal evidence that may be inconsistent with it; but we are probably justified in assuming that the inscriptions come from the islands in the south-east portion of the Aegæan, or the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor. I am indebted to Mr. Newton for valuable help, especially in conjecturing the purport and locality of the Rhodian inscriptions.

As far as I can tell, the inscriptions seem to be all unpublished, except No. 9; they are not, at any rate, to be found in any of the periodicals published at Athens, though these contain many that are somewhat similar, and obviously come from the same neighbourhood. If they are already known, I can hardly hope, working only from squeezes, to be able to add anything to previous copies; but the risk of superfluity must always in such cases be incurred. It is at any rate less serious than that of the suppression of new and interesting matter.

1. Part of a subscription list of names with numbers in columns; remains of a second column are visible on the left. The order is roughly alphabetical. The large number 12,000, opposite l. 24, which also begins further back, seems to be a total. Several names are new and interesting. Both from its form and Doric dialect this seems to be Rhodian. Cf. Newton, *B. M. Inscr.* II., cccxliii. cccxliv. (13 in. × 11 in.; height of letters,  $\frac{1}{4}$  in.)

Δ  
ΦΡΑΓΟΡΑ ΔΔ  
ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥΥΠΕΡΑΥΤΟ  
ΛΝΥΙΩΝΟΛΥΜΠΟΔΩΡΟΥ

5     ΩΤ. ΔΟΥ     ΔΔΔ  
         ΑΡΕ   ΩΝΕΥΣ . . . . ΣΑΡΕΥ  
         Κ     ΟΘΕΣΙΑ . ΑΞΟΑΡΣΙΑΛΑ   Π

ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΣΘΕΥΦΑΝΤΟΥ     Δ  
ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΣΑΣΤΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ     Δ

10 ΤΕΛΕ . ΑΡΧΟΣΚΛΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ  
ΤΙΜΑΣΙΠΟΛΙΣΤΙΜΑΣΙΠΟΛΙΟΣ     ≡

         ΤΟΥΤΙΜΑΣΙΠΟΛΙΟΣ     Δ

Δ     ΤΙΜΑΡΧΙΔΑΣΤΙΜ . . . . ΟΛΙΟΣ     Δ

Δ     ΤΙΜΑΡΕΤΟΣΑΝΑΞΙΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ     Δ

15 ΤΗΛΕΜΑΧΟΣΑΝΑΞΙΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ     Δ

Δ     ΤΙΜΑΣΙΠΟΛΙΣΤΙΜΟΜΑΧΟΥ     Δ

Δ     ΤΙΜΟ . Ε . ΣΤΙΜΑΣΙΠΟΛΙΟΣ

ΣΔ     ΤΟΥ . ΕΝΟΚΛΕΥΣ     ≡ Δ

         ΤΙΜΑΣΑΡΧΟΣΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΟΣ     Δ

ΔΔΔ 20 ΤΙΜΟΤΕΛΗΣ . . . . ΑΝΟΡΟΣ     ΔΔ

         ΤΙΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ . . . . ΑΝ . . ΟΣ

         ΤΙΜΑΣΙΘΕΟΣ . . . . . Ε . .

         ΤΙΜΑΣΙΘΕΟΣ . . . . . ΔΟ . .

ΜΧΧ     ΤΙΜΑΣΙΠΟΛΙΣΙΕΡΟΚΛΕ . Σ     Δ

25 ΤΙΜΟΘΕ . . . ΕΡ'Ι'Α . . .  
         ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΣΙΕΡ . .

         ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΙΕΡΟΚΛΕ     ΔΔΔ

         ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΕΥΣ     Δ

ΦΙΛΩΝΔΑΣΝΙΚΟ . ΟΥ . ΟΥ Δ  
 30 ΧΑΡΜΟΚΛΗΣΕΡΑΤΟ . . . . Σ ΔΔ  
 [Δ] ΧΑΙΡΕΙΟΣΓΕΡΑΙΣΤΙΟΣ Δ  
 ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΣΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΟΣ Δ  
 Δ ΤΙΜΑΧΙΔΑΣΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΟΣ Δ  
 ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΚΛΕΙΣΙΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ ΔΔ

3. — Τιμάρχου ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ τῶν νύων Ὀλυμποδώρου  
 5. — ωτ[ί]δου ΔΔΔ

- Τιμόθεος Θευφάντου Δ  
 Τίμαρχος Ἀστυκρατίδα Δ  
 10. Τελέ[σ]αρχος Κλευστράτου [Δ-  
 Τιμασίπολις Τιμασιπόλιος  
 τοῦ Τιμασιπόλιος Δ  
 Τιμαρχίδας Τιμ[ασιπ]όλιος Δ  
 Τιμάρετος Ἀναξικράτους Δ  
 15. Τηλέμαχος Ἀναξικράτους Δ  
 Τιμασίπολις Τιμομάχου Δ  
 Τιμό[θ]ε[ο]ς Τιμασιπόλιος  
 τοῦ [Μ]ενοκλεῦς Δ  
 Τιμάσαρχος Εὐφράνορος Δ  
 20. Τιμοτέλης [Εὐφρ]άνορος ΔΔ  
 Τιμόκριτος [Εὐφρ]άν[ορ]ος [Δ-  
 Τιμασίθεος [— Δ-  
 Τιμασίθεος [— Δ-  
 Τιμασίπολις Ἱεροκ[λεῦ]ς Δ  
 25. Τιμόθε[ο]ς Ἱερ[οφ]ά[ν]ευς Δ  
 Τίμαρχος Ἱερ[— Δ-  
 Φιλοκράτης Ἱεροκλε[ῦς ΔΔ] Δ  
 Φιλοκράτης Ἱεροφάνευσ Δ  
 Φιλώνδας Νικο[β]ού[λ]ου Δ  
 30. Χαρμοκλῆς Ἐρατο[κλεῦ]ς ΔΔ  
 Χαίρειος Γεραίστιος Δ  
 Τίμαρχος Εὐφράνορος Δ  
 Τιμαχίδας Εὐφράνορος Δ  
 Τιμόστρατος Κλεισιμβρότου ΔΔ



2. A decree of honour and presents to some prince. (11 in. x 16 in.; height of letters,  $\frac{1}{2}$  in.)

ΚΑΙΣΤΗΣΑΙΕΝΤΩ  
 ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΔΕΑΥΤ  
 ΤΟΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΙΚΑΙΠΡΟΞΕΝ  
 ΤΑΙΑΝΑΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΙΕΙΣΙΝΑΡΟΛ  
 5 ΛΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΞΕΝΙΑΜΕΛΙΤΟΣΑ  
 ΦΟΡΙΣΚΟΥΣΔΥΟΤΟΔΕΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΤΟΕΛ  
 ΤΑΥΤΑΔΟΝΤΩΝΟΙΤΑΜΙΑΙΕΛΕΣΘΑΙΔΕ  
 ΚΑΙΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΑΣΤΡΕΙΣΟΙΤΙΝΕΣΤΟΤΕΨΗ  
 ΦΙΣΜΑΑΡΟΔΩΣΟΥΣΙΝΚΑΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΟΥ  
 10 ΣΙΝΑΥΤΟΝΤΗΝΕΥΝΟΙΑΝΠΑΡΕΧΕΣΘΑΙ  
 ΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΑΡΑΤΡΟΚΛΗΣΑΝΤΙΓ  
 ΝΟΥΣΝΕΑΡΧΟΣΚΤΗΣΙΚΛΕΟΥΣΙΣΜΗΝΙΑΣ  
 ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ

- Καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ [ιερωῷ τῷ..... ?  
 ἀναγράψαι δὲ αὐτ[ὸν ὥσπερ οἱ λοι  
 ποὶ πολῖται καὶ πρόξεν[οι καὶ εὐεργέ  
 ται ἀναγεγραμμένοι εἰσιν. ἀπο[στεί-  
 5. λαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ξένια, μέλιτος ἁ[μφ- (?)  
 φορίσκους δύο. τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ ἐ[ς  
 ταῦτα δόντων οἱ ταμίαι. ἐλέσθαι δὲ  
 καὶ πρεσβευτὰς τρεῖς οἵτινες τό τε ψή-  
 φισμα ἀποδώσουσιν καὶ παρακαλοῦ-  
 10. σιν αὐτὸν τὴν εὐνοίαν παρέχεσθαι  
 τῇ πόλει. πρεσβευτα[ι], Πατροκλῆς '  
 νους, Νέαρχος Κτησικλέους, Ἰσμηνίας  
 Μενάνδρου.

The symbolical present of two pots of honey is very interesting, and I have not come across any quite similar form. May it be connected with the sacredness of the bee, as associated with Artemis at Ephesus and elsewhere? Unfortunately there is no clew to the locality.

3. (a) The deities here suggest Cos, but such decrees as this are often Rhodian; it is clearly a law regulating the sale of priest-

hoods and the privileges of the buyers. As there is no means of ascertaining the original length of the lines, it seems useless to try and restore the whole. (10½ in. × 8 in.; height of letters, ½ in.)

- ΔΑΛΙΟΥ  
 ἸΝΓΡΟΣΤΑΤΑΙ . . . ἦσα]ν προστάται . . .  
 ΙΚΙΑΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΓΑΡ . . . Ν]ικία, Ξενοφῶν Παρ- . . .  
 ΩΝΟΣΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟ . . . ωνος, Διόφαντος . . .  
 5 ΤΟΙΑΙΡΗΜΕΝΟΙΣΥΝ . . . τοὶ αἰρημένοι σὺν . . .  
 ΥΑΣΚΛΑΠΤΙΟΥΚΑΙ το]ῦ Ἀσκληπίου καὶ [τῆς Ὑγείας  
 ΤΑΣΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΥΝ . . . Θεωδώρου . . .  
 ΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΡΙΣΤΕ . . . Ἀριστεὺς Ἀριστέως . . .  
 ΑΙΓΤΡΑΣΕΙΤΑΣΙΕΡΩ . . . τ]ᾶ πράσει τῆς ἱερῶ[σύνας  
 10 ΚΑΙΗΓΓΙΟΝΑΙΙΕΡΕΙΑ . . . . . ἱερεῖα . . .  
 ΤΟΙΔΕΓΓΩΛΗΤΑΙΑ τοὶ δὲ πωλῆται . . . . .  
 ΑΠΤΙΟΥΚΑΙΤΑΣΥΓ . . . Ἀσκλη]πίου καὶ τῆς Ὑγ[είας.  
 ΕΡΩΣΥΝΑΝΕΣΤΩ . . . ἰ]ερῶσύναν ἵστω . . .  
 ΩΝΔΕΚΑΤΕΨ . . . τ]ῶν δὲ κατεσ . . .

(b) Forms and size of characters same as in (a), but style of cutting somewhat different; not so much so as to make connexion impossible, if otherwise probable. (10½ in. × 7 in.; height of letters, ½ in.)

- ΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΑΙΚΑΤΑΨ . . . διαγραφὰ κατὰ . . .  
 ΕΠΙΚΟΣΜΗΣΙΟΣΟ . . . ἐπὶ κοσμήσιος . . .  
 ΝΟΣΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΩΣΤ . . . -νος Ἀκολούθω στ- . . .  
 ΟΥΕΓΓΙΦΑΝΕΙΑΙΚΑΙ . . . ου ἐπιφάνειαι καὶ . . .  
 5 ΒΕΙΑΙΕΤΙΔΕΚΑΙΤΑΙ . . . πρεσβεῖαι ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταὶ . . .  
 ΞΩΝΤΕΚΑΙΤΙΜΩ . . . . . ξων τε καὶ τιμῶ[ν . . .  
 ΚΤΩΝΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΞ . . . ἐκ τῶν ἀπολογίξ- . . .  
 ΟΣΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙΔΨ . . . πρ]ος γενέσθαι δ' . . .  
 ΜΥΡΙΑΝΟΙΚΕΙΣ . . . μυρίαν οἰκεῖσ[θαι . . .  
 10 ΚΑΘΟΤΙΔΕΗΣΞ . . . καθότι δὲ η . . .  
 ΘΑΙΤΩΝΔΕΑΠΤΟ . . . θαι τῶν δὲ ἀπο . . .  
 ΚΑΔΟΞΗΤΩΙΔ . . . ὥς] κα δόξη τῷ δ[άμψ . . .  
 ΩΕΦΑΣΕΓΓΙΨ  
 ΞΕΝΕ

Here again the lines may be any length, and it seems impossible to discover either the proportion of this fragment to the whole, or its probable position.

4. Two fragments of a subscription list, which may or may not belong to the same inscription. The lines do not correspond. Probably Rhodian, like 1. (7½ in. × 10 in.; height of letters, ½ in.)

Υ Χ	Ν. Ρ Ε
-ΕΛΙΔΡΟ	ΚΑΙΥΓΓΕΡ
Υ ΗΚ	ΣΙΚΛΗΣΣΙΜΑΛ
ΑΜΑΣ	ΝΙΣΚΟΣΚΑΙΥΓΓΕ
ΟΣ	ΣΙΜΟΥΚΑΙΥΓΓΕΡΤ
Υ ΩΝ	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥΙ
ΤΟΣ	ΣΑΝΘΙΔΑΗΕΥ
Η	ΚΑΙΥΓΓΕΡΤΩΝΓΓΑΙΔ
	ΑΝΔΡΟΥΡΙΜΕ
	CΝΤΟΣΚΑΙΥΓΓΕΙ
	ΕΙΤΟΣΑΡΕΤΩ

*καὶ ὑπὲρ*

*.. σικλῆς Σιμα*

*-νισκος καὶ ὑπὲρ*

5. *-σιμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων*

*Ἀριστοβούλου*

*.. σανθίδα*

*καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων*

*-άνδρου*

10. *ντος καὶ ὑπὲρ*

*ειτος Ἀρετω...*

The heading suggests at first sight Θεὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων, but the two fragments cannot be read consecutively as they now stand.

5. (5 in. × 10 in.; height of letters, ¾ in.)

ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑΣΤΑΣ	<i>Εὐκλείας τῆς</i>
ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΥΣΓΥ	<i>Νικοκλεῦς γυ-</i>
ΝΑΙΚΟΣΝΙΚΑΝ	<i>ναικὸς Νικάν-</i>
ΘΕΥΣΜΑΤΡΟΣ	<i>θεὸς ματρὸς.</i>

6. Cf. *C.I.G.* 6843. This is identical with another inscription, now at Oxford, but the lines are differently divided. Cf. also 10, where the case is the same. Certainly from Cos: see 10. ( $7\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  5 in.; height of letters,  $\frac{1}{2}$  in.)

ΘΕΟΙΣΠΑΤΡΩ	Θεοῖς πατρώ-
ΟΙΣΥΠΕΡΥ	οις ὑπὲρ ὑ-
ΓΕΙΑΣΜΑΡ	γείας Μάρ[κ
ΟΥΑΙΛΙΟΥ	ου Αἰλίου
ΣΑΒΕΙΝΙΑΝΟΥ	Σαβεινιανού,
ΥΙΟΥΠΟΛΕ	υίου πόλε-
ΩΣΚΑΙΓΕΡΟΥ	ως καὶ γερου-
ΣΙΑΣΕΥΕΡ	σίας, εὐερ-
ΓΕΤΑΤΑΣ	γέτα τᾶς
ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ	πατρίδος.

The θεοὶ πατῶροι of Cos are Asklapios and Hygieia; cf. M. O. Rayet, *Inscriptions de Cos*; in the *Annuaire de l'Association des Études Grecques*, 1875, pp. 272, *sqq.* where parallels will also be found for the titles used in this inscription, and also nos. 8 and 10. For these titles, see also S. Reinach, *Épigraphie Grecque*, p. 511.

7. (3 in.  $\times$  9 in.; height of letters,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  in.)

ΟΛΥΜ[ ]ΑΣ	Ὀλυμ[πι]ᾶς
ΑΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΥΣ	ἁ Νικομήδευς
ΚΑΙΚΛΕΥΜΑΧΟΥ	καὶ Κλευμάχου.

8. Cf. 6, 10. From Cos. ( $6\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $7\frac{1}{2}$  in.; height of letters,  $\frac{1}{2}$  in.)

Θ Ε Ο Ι Σ	Θεοῖς
ΥΤΡΩΟΙΣΠΕΡΙ	πα]τρώεις περι
ΑΣΝΙΚΙΑΤΟΥΔ,	τ]ας Νικία τοῦ δ[᾽
ΥΟΥΥΙΟΥΦΙΛΟΓΓΑ	μ]ου υίου φιλοπά-
5 ΤΡΙΔΟΣΗΡΩΟΣ	τριδος ἡρώος
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΔΕ	εὐεργέτα δὲ
ΤΑΣΠΟΛΙΟΣ	τᾶς πόλιος
ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ	σωτηρίας.

9. This has been already quoted by M. Rayet, *l.c.* p. 323, as published by M. Foucart, *Assoc. rel. chez les Grecs*, p. 232 no. 54.

10. Cf. *C.I.G.* 6844, which is not, however, quite identical. Here, as in the case of 6, we have another inscription in honour of the same person, similar to that already published in the *Corpus*. (13 in. x 9 in.; height of letters,  $\frac{3}{4}$  in.)

ΙΝΙΟΙΣ	Θεοῖς πατ[ρ]όφους
ΙΕΡ . Α . ΓΑΙΟ	ὑπ[ε]ρ [τ]ῆ[s] Γαίον
ΤΕΡ . ΝΙΟΝ	Σ[τ]ερ[τι]νίου,
ΚΛΕΙΤΟΝΝΙΟΝ	Ἡρα]κλείτου νιού,
ΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣΦ	Ξε]νοφώντος, φ[ιλο-
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΦΙΑ	καίσαρος, φιλ[ο-
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝΦΙΛΟ	κλαυδίου, φило-
ΔΑΣΤΟΝΔΑΜ	σεβ]άστου, δάμ[ου
ΟΝΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙ	νῆ[οῦ], φιλοπάτρι[δος,
ΕΥΣΕΒΟΝΣΕ	εὐσεβούς, ε]ὐερ
ΕΤΑΤΑΣΠΑΤ	γ]έτα τῆς πατρί
ΟΣ . . . ΗΡΙΑ	δ]ος, [σωτ]ηρία[s].

Cf. also *Bull. Con. Hell.* V., 1881, pp. 468, *sqq.* M. Dubois there collects the references to this physician of the Emperor Claudius on inscriptions. Cf. *Tac. Ann.* xii. 61.

11. A statement of boundaries. (13 in. x 6½ in.; height of letters,  $\frac{5}{8}$  in.)

ΕΤΕΡ	· · · , ·
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΔΟ	· · · · ·
ΤΑΣΕΓΓΙΤΥ	· · · · ·
ΧΑΝΟΝΤΟΣ	· · · · ·
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙ	τὸ δὲ] ἵτερο-
ΔΟΣΑΣΚΥΡΙ	ν] Ἀθηναῖδο-
ΟΣΟΥΙΟΣΔΙΟ	ς] τῆς ἐπιτυ-
ΝΥΣΙΟΣΕΥΦ	γ]χάνοντος ( <i>sic</i> )
	5 Ἀλεξανδρί-
	δος ἃς κύρι-
	ος ὁ υἱὸς Διο
	νύσιος Εὐφ-

ΡΟΣΥΝΟΥΚ	ροσύνου Κ-
ΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟ	10 ολοφώνιος·
ΠΛΑΤΟΣΠΟΔ	πλάτος, πόδ-
ΑΣ Ϙ ΤΟ	ας Ϙ, τὸ [δ-
ΕΜΑΚΟΣΜ	ἐ μάκος, μ[ε-
ΧΡΙΤΑΣΧΑ	χρὶ τῆς χα-
ΡΑΔΡΑΣ	15 ρίδρας.

In L 4 there seems to be simply a false concord; or should we translate 'daughter of the next of kin to Alexandris,' which makes very bad Greek, but avoids the grammatical mistake? For this meaning of ἐπιτυγχάνειν cf. ἐπιβάλλειν in the well-known Gortyna inscription.

12. Only partly legible; the letters given below are often uncertain. (9 in. × 13 in.; height of letters,  $\frac{1}{2}$  in.)

ΕΛΛΟ  
ΜΕΝΟΝΥΠΟΙΩΙ  
ΑΠΑΗΣΙΩΣΙΟΙΕΓΓ  
ΙΝΘΕΩΝΟΙΚΟΝ . ΕΤΑΒΕΒΗΚΕΝΕΙ  
5 ΒΕΒΗΚΕΝΜΕΤΑΜΩΝΧΡΟΝΩΙΧΑΡ  
· ΥΤΟΥΧΑΛΚΗΝΜΕΝΕΙΚΟΝΑΕΦΙΙ  
ΤΟΜ . ΚΑΛΠΕΙ / ΙΑΓΑΛΜΑΔΙΕΝ  
ΤΕΙΔΕΘΥΜΕΛΙΚΟΥΣΑΓΩΝΑΣΑΥΤΩ  
ΒΝΙΩΙΓΥΜ . . . . ΙΟΙΤΩΝΝΕΩΝΕΝ  
10 ΑΣΤΕΟΜΟΡΟΝ . . . . ΣΣΩΝΕΤΑΥ  
ΟΝ : Ω . ΟΝ . . . ΑΙΟΝΚΑΘΙΕΡΩ

...μενον ὑπὸ  
παρ]απλησίως ἔοι ἐπὶ  
τὸν τῶν θεῶν οἶκον [μ]εταβέβηκεν εἰ...  
5. βέβηκεν μετ' ἁμῶν χρόνῳ χαρ...  
α]ὐτοῦ χαλκῇν μὲν εἰκόνα ἔφι[ππον  
ἄγαλμα  
δὲ θυμελικούς ἀγῶνας αὐτῷ  
γυμνικούς...τῶν νέων ἐν  
10. . . . .  
καθιερώ[σαι.

Apparently a decree of honours to some one, hardly a private individual; to judge from their character they are such as were sometimes given to the successors of Alexander. . . .

13. (12½ in. × 14 in.; height of letters, ½ in.)

ΡΑΣΣΩΝΚΑΙΕ  
ΣΠΟΥΔΗΝΠΟΙΕΙΤΑΙ  
ΑΙΤΟΝΔΗΜΟΝΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΣΘΗ  
ΩΝΠΟΛΙΤΩΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΜΕΙΝΑΣΕ  
ΟΝΤΙΣΕΝΙΝΑΠΡΟΜΕΤΡΗΘΗΣΙΤΟΣΑ  
ΟΝΗΤΑΤΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΑΥΤΩΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤ  
ΕΜΟΥΑΣΘΕΝΩΣΔΙΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΥΚΑΙΚΟ  
ΤΟΥΣΠΕΡΙΕΣΧΗΚΟΤΑΣΑΥΤΟΝΕΝΤΩΙ  
ΑΝΤΟΣΠΟΡΙΣΑΙΤΟΕΦΟΔΙΟΝΤΟΝ  
ΕΛΛΟΜΕΝΟΙΣΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΒΑΣΙ  
ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΟΝΤΡΟΣΑΥΤΟΝ  
ΕΞΑΓΓΟΣΤΕΙΛΑΝΤΕ  
ΤΑΣΑΠΟΧΡΗΣΑΙ  
ΑΝΤΡΟΣΧΡΗΣ  
ΕΙΔΕΚΑΙΕΝ  
ΔΗΜΟΥΟΓ  
ΧΗΕΔΓ

ἐπειδὴ ὁ δεῖνα τὴν πόλιν τῶν —

- . . . εὐ π]ράσσω καὶ ε[ὕεργετῶν διατελεῖ  
. . . καὶ] σπούδην ποιεῖται ἀ[ει . . . . .  
. . . αὶ τὸν δῆμον συνοικισθῆ[ναι . . . . .  
. . . τ]ῶν πολιτῶν καὶ καταμείνας . . . . .  
5. . . . ἐφρ]όντισεν ἵνα προμετρήθῃ σῖτος . . .  
. . . . τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῷ γράμματ[α . . .  
. . . . ἐμοῦ ἀσθενῶς διακειμένου καὶ κο . . .  
. . . . τοὺς περιεσχηκότας αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ . . .  
. . . . αντος πορίσαι τὸ ἐφόδιον τὸ . . . . .  
τοῖς ἀποστ]ελλομένοις πρὸς τὸν βασι[λέα.  
. . . . οἱ ἐ]πρέσβευον πρὸς αὐτὸν . . . . .  
. . . . . ἐξαποστείλαντε[ς . . . . .  
. . . . . τας ἀποχρήσαι . . . . .

..... *αν πρὸς χρῆσ[ιν].* .....  
 ..... *εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν.* .....  
 ..... *δήμου* .....

An honorary decree setting forth the services of some individual in superintending the corn supply, providing ambassadors' expenses, &c

14. Peculiarly confusing and difficult to read. The lines are visible; but owing to curious wear in cross lines, very few consecutive letters can anywhere be made out with certainty. The whole could only be guessed at, so that remains might fit in. Some even of letters given below may be wrong. (10 in. × 12½ in.; height of letters, ¾ in.)

ΕΚΙ  
 ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ . . Ο . . . ΔΑΟ  
 ΤΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΝΕΙΚΟΥΜΟΝΑΨΧΕΣ  
 ΤΟΥ . ΕΣΤΟΛ ΤΟΝΝ . . .  
 5 ΤΟΝ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΕΙ ΝΕΦΝΟ . . .  
 ΤΕ ΟΙΝΟΝ ΘΕΣΣΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ Δ . . .  
 . . . . ΑΜΕΙΩΣ ΨΝΗ . . .  
 ΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕ . . . ΑΥΤΟ . ΑΥΡ  
 ΕΥΦ . . . ΥΝΟΥΙ . ΨΧΕ ΨΙΩΝΑ  
 10 ΝΑΗ . Ο . ΗΣΑΚΤΟ ΠΑΡΑΧΡΗΜ  
 ΙΑ Υ Η  
 ΙΟΣΕ

Ἀλέξανδρον . . . . .  
 τὸν περιδονεῖκου ? . . .  
 . . . . .  
 5. τὸν τὸ αὐτὸ ἔ[τος] . . .  
 τε οἶνον Θ[ά]σ[ι]ον καὶ .  
 . . . . .  
 χρή]σαντος τοῦ θε[οῦ] . . αὐτο . .  
 Εὐφ[ροσ]ύνου . . . . .  
 10. . . . . παράχρημα . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .



An honorary decree in honour of some athlete, who had gained the whole 'period' of victories.

15. An elegiac epigram. (8 in. × 24 in. ; height of letters,  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. in epigram, 1 in. in names below.)

ΕΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΘΟΑΣ ΔΙΟΓΙΟ  
ΥΙΕΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΥ ΣΤΗΣΑΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΔΟΣ  
ΗΓΑΤΡΟΣ ΕΞ ΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΒΛΑΣΤΟΥΣΑ ΓΟΝΑΙΣΙ ΘΟΑΝΤΟΣ  
ΓΝΗΣΙΟΝ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΑΜΦΕΕΤΟΣ ΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ  
ΔΥΜΑΝ ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ  
ΘΟΑΣ ΛΕΩΝΙΔΑΣ  
ΑΝΑΞΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΤΕΛΗΣ

*εἰκόνα μητρὸς τήνδε Θόας— ιο[ι θ' ἄμ' ἀδελφοί  
υἱες Ἀριστείδου στήσαν Ἀθηναῖδος.  
ἦ, πατρὸς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ βλαστοῦσα γοναῖσι Θόαντος  
γνήσιον εὐλογίας ἀμφέθετο στέφανον.*

Δυμάν	Διοκλῆς
Θόας	Λεωνίδας
Ἀναξαγόρας	Ἀνδροτέλης

With these inscriptions were also sent two sketches of gladiatorial reliefs.<sup>1</sup> Beneath the first is written *Εὐρέθη εἰς τὴν Κῶ Πόλιν τοῦ Ἱποκράτους* (*sic*). It represents two gladiators; one of them stands upon a basis on which is inscribed:

ΑΠΕΛΥΘΗ  
-ΕΞΩ  
ΛΟΥΔΟΥ

He is clad in a close-fitting jerkin, and in his left hand holds a trident and rudis (?); his right is raised and apparently holds a round object; between his feet is an object which may be a net, as he seems to be a retiarius. To the right of his head, which has long hair, is the name ΚΡΙΤΟΣ.<sup>2</sup> The other man,

<sup>1</sup> I assume that they are reliefs, mosaics.

but what they are is not expressly stated; they may very likely be

<sup>2</sup> Second half of some name like [Δημό]κριτος.

armed with sword, shield, and helmet, charges up a slope towards the first, from the right. Over his head is inscribed ΜΑΡΙΣΚΕΣ.

The second relief, recorded to have been found in the same place as the first, represents one man, armed with sword, shield, and helmet. The name ΔΡΟΣΙΝΟΣ is written half on each side of his head.

E. A. GARDNER.

## JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES.

AMONG the books of the Apocrypha two portions stand out in strong relief as bearing the marks of genius. One is the Book of Wisdom, with its sustained moral fervour and luxuriant yet devout fancy; the other, the noble tragedy of the Book of Judith. The latter work has the further interest of presenting a curious literary problem. Is 'Judith' in any sense history, or even based on history, or is it mere romance? Certainly the writer takes great liberties with facts. Time and place have to yield to the requirements of the narrative. Famous names are mingled together in extraordinary combinations. Nebuchadnezzar reigns over the Assyrians at Nineveh; and he reigns soon after the Jewish return from Captivity. An Arphaxad rules at Ecbatane as king of the Medes. An unknown high priest Joachim is supreme at Jerusalem. The book opens moreover with a catalogue of nations brought under this Nebuchadnezzar's sway; and the list teems with contradictions of history and even of probability.

## I.

Learned opinion since the time of Grotius<sup>1</sup> has been almost unanimous in pronouncing the book to be an historical romance, of the time of the Maccabees or later, wherein the writer sets forth in parable the hopes and fears of his nation, and stirs up his countrymen to heroic resistance to the oppressor. Opinion has been more divided concerning the precise date of its composition. Dr. Westcott would assign it to the reign of Antiochus

<sup>1</sup> *Prolegomena in lib. Judith*; similarly Mr. Churton, in his recent *Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*.

Epiphanes.<sup>1</sup> Volkmar saw in it an allusion to Trajan's Parthian wars.<sup>2</sup> Ewald's masterly acquaintance with later Jewish history led him to fix upon one particular crisis as suggesting the composition of the book.<sup>3</sup> That moment came when Demetrius II. surnamed Nicator (king B.C. 146-138, and 128-125), after first invading and conquering Parthia, had then himself been taken prisoner, and finally after ten years' captivity, had re-established himself upon the Syrian throne. In vain did the Parthian king endeavour to crush him. His hopes grew with his successes. He meditated the invasion of Egypt. He was bent upon recovering for Syria all that he and his predecessors had lost. To the medley of cities and populations which made up the Syrian Empire this reappearance of Demetrius must have brought the extremes of hope and fear. It unsettled everything for years to come. What if his wild schemes of conquest should be successful, and carry change and revolution far and wide? To the Jews and their Elders under John the high priest, it must have been a time of great alarm.<sup>4</sup> They had almost forgotten the horrors of the reign of Epiphanes; they had recovered from their resistance to Demetrius Soter. The fierce heroism which had preserved them in those awful days had left a reaction behind it. Their energies had become relaxed; and years of unbroken peace left them unprepared for the danger that seemed now to threaten. The book of Judith (so Ewald suggests) concentrates the fears and dangers of this crisis into the form of an historical romance. The narrative is prophetic, symbolical; an allegory of the Jewish people, and of the possibilities of Jewish patriotism, if in the hour of uttermost calamity it were true to the national faith, true to the Mosaic covenant. To Israel, if penitent and believing, God's promise still was steadfast, that 'one should chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.'<sup>5</sup>

The names employed in the story do but slightly veil the personality of the principal figures. Nebuchadnezzar, the proud and mighty tyrant, whose throne (in defiance of all historical facts) is placed at Nineveh after the Jewish Return,—who plans

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. Judith.

<sup>2</sup> See Wiener's *Realwörterbuch*, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iv. p. 618, foll.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*, iv. p. 451.  
Deuteronomy xxxii. 30.

ambitious schemes of conquest, and is enraged when the vassal peoples refuse the help he demands for his war against 'Arphaxad, king of the Medes,'—who determines therefore not only to destroy Arphaxad, but to reduce to submission all the countries round about,—he is Demetrius Nicator, as he appeared to the excited imagination of a Hebrew patriot. By the Biblical term 'Medes' the writer signified the Parthians; while the similar sounding name Arphaxad is borrowed from Genesis<sup>1</sup> to indicate the dynasty of the Arsacidæ. The name of Joachim with his friends at Jerusalem scarcely veils the person of John Maccabeus and the national council. Slight as the writer's regard may be for historical facts, the whole book is true to the spirit of the time. The entire career of Demetrius, his early victories over Parthia, his long exile, his final recovery of the throne, are all gathered up into one point, and he figures as an ambitious, overbearing tyrant. The danger of the Jewish people in the presence of his power, and the need of primitive piety and even more than primitive courage to ward it off, are thrown into dramatic form in the expedition of Holofernes, the invasion of Palestine, the heroic design and victorious deliverance of Judith. And Judith herself is, what her name implies, 'the daughter of Judah,' the people of Israel, the spouse of Jehovah. A widow she is, but beautiful to look upon, and as pious as she is fair; like Jerusalem, bereaved of her ancient glories, yet still not lost to hope. Another Deborah, she will arise 'a mother in Israel,' to encourage the people of God; like Jael, she will slay the enemy of God in the tent; another Miriam, she breaks forth into singing at the discomfiture of the hosts of the aliens.

Such, in brief, is the combination suggested by Ewald. Perhaps the great German scholar goes too far in attempting so minutely to fix the date of the book. It may be urged that Demetrius II. was not so terrible to the Jews as this view of the case implies. His restored reign lasted four years at most; and all the time he was harassed by conspiracies and rebellions. We do not hear of his taking any action against the Jews. We might think the sending out of Holofernes bears more resemblance to the expedition of Nicanor under Demetrius Soter,<sup>2</sup> which was so gloriously defeated by Judas Maccabeus. The

<sup>1</sup> xi. 12.<sup>2</sup> 1 Maccabees vii.

recollection of that victory must, one would think, have been fresh in the memory of the writer of Judith. One name at all events there is in the book which is not Jewish, and was unlikely to be known to Jewish ears; but which connects the authorship with the recollections of the reign of Demetrius I,—this is the name of the second figure of the tragedy, Holofernes. The name is found nowhere outside the dynasty of Cappadocia. And the most famous prince of the name was a well-known friend of Demetrius I., the features of whose character, so far as we know them, agree with the portraiture of Holofernes.

This coincidence has not escaped the attention of Ewald;<sup>1</sup> the first readers of the book of Judith (he argues) would inevitably be struck by the name Holofernes, and would think of the friend of Demetrius Soter, and thereby would have a clue to the symbolical meaning of the whole story.

Before I had come across Ewald's remarks, or indeed had read any criticism of the book of Judith, I had been led to a similar conviction concerning its origin; but I reached the same goal with Ewald by a very different route. It is to my own starting point that I ask leave now to transport the reader.

## II.

Upon a certain spring morning, about Easter 1765, three travellers might have been seen toiling along the slopes of Mount Mycalè in Asia Minor, under the guidance of a Greek peasant at whose house they had slept the night before in the Turkish village of Kelebesh. After an hour's climb they reach the citadel of the ancient Ionian city of Prienè. One of the party is Richard Chandler, a young Oxford scholar in his twenty-seventh year, who has been sent into Greece by the Society of Dilettanti on a mission of archæological discovery. His companions are Revett, the architect—well-known afterwards as the collaborateur of 'Athenian' Stuart in editing the *Antiquities of Athens*,—and M. Pars, a young artist. Chandler's book of travels gives a charming narrative of his tour, and from it we may take his account of this morning's trip.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 621, note.

<sup>2</sup> Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor*

and Greece, edited by N. Revett, Esq.,  
vol. i. pp. 199, foll.

'Our guide led us first through the village up to the acropolis or citadel; the ascent lasting an hour, the track bad, by breaks in the mountain and small cascades. We then arrived on a summit of Mycalè, large, distinct, and rough, with stunted trees and deserted cottages, encircled, except toward the plain, by an ancient wall. This had been repaired, and made tenable in a later age by additional outworks. A steep, high, naked rock rises behind; and the area terminates before in a most abrupt and formidable precipice, from which we looked down with wonder on the diminutive objects beneath us. The massive heap of a temple below appeared to the naked eye but as chippings of marble.' That heap was the ruined temple of Athenè Polias at Prienè.

This building is one of the few Greek temples of which the precise date is fixed by written testimony. One of the marble blocks which formed the entrance is inscribed with the following words in large, handsome characters: 'Alexander dedicated this temple to Athenè Polias.'<sup>1</sup> We are left in no doubt as to who is meant by 'Alexander.' Apart from other indications which are decisive, there is a story quoted by Strabo from an earlier historian, that when Alexander the Great visited Ephesus after his first victory over the Persians at the river Granicus, he found the Ephesians rebuilding their famous temple, which the insane ambition of Herostratus had burned down on the night of Alexander's birth. It was now nearly complete when Alexander offered to defray the entire cost of it upon condition that he might inscribe his name upon it as the dedicator. The Ephesians adroitly veiled their refusal under the flattering plea that 'it was not proper for a god to dedicate temples to the gods.'<sup>2</sup> The Prienians, more obsequious or perhaps less wealthy, must have accepted a similar offer from the conqueror, whose dedication was the first inscription engraved upon the newly erected walls. This interesting marble may be seen any day in the Mausoleum Room in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 2904: Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος. Compare Droysen, *Hellenismus*, i. 1, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xiv. p. 640: Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ὑποσχέσθαι τὰ γυγνόμενα

καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἀναλώματα, ἐφ' ᾧ τε τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν αὐτὸν ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐθελῆσαι . . . ἑταιρεῖ τε (δ' Ἀρτεμίδωρος) τὸν εἰπόντα τῶν Ἐφεσίων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς οὐ πρόποι θεῶ θεοῖς ἀναθήματα παρασκευάζειν.

Chandler proceeds to describe his descent by a winding path down the precipice to the city: 'The steps cut in the rock were narrow, the path frequently not wider than the body, and so steep as scarcely to allow a footing. The sun shone full upon us, and was reverberated by the rugged side of the mountain to which we leaned, avoiding as much as possible the frightful view of the abyss beneath us, and shrinking from the brink. The long-continued descent made the whole frame quiver.' It would seem that Chandler was an indifferent mountaineer; and indeed his biographer bluntly describes him as 'round, and considerably below the standard' in height.<sup>1</sup> But he was a splendid scholar, whose services to Greek learning have not yet been sufficiently recognised.<sup>2</sup> Arrived at the temple-site below, the three travellers proceeded to examine the ruins; these lay around in picturesque confusion, bare of any covering of earth, just as they had fallen centuries before, perhaps shaken down by an earthquake. Chandler made memoranda, and copied inscriptions; Revett measured and took notes of the architectural remains; Pars, the artist, made sketches of the scene. The results of their labour may be found in Part i. of the *Antiquities of Ionia*, published in 1769, giving views of the locality, descriptions and plates of the architecture, and copies of several inscriptions. When we remember that these ruins contained the tolerably complete remains of a temple which, though small, was one of the finest specimens of Ionic architecture in existence, it is almost incredible that over a century was allowed to pass before any attempt was made to explore the ruins, and to recover and preserve from among them the most important relics of art which there lay hid.

In the winter of 1868 the same Society, which had sent out Chandler and Revett, at length commissioned Mr. Pullan to go out and explore the ruins. Excavation there needed none. The moving of the huge blocks of marble, the packing and transporting of fragments of statuary, architecture and inscriptions, this was all that was required; and it was done with due

<sup>1</sup> Biography by Archdeacon Churton, prefixed to the *Travels*.

<sup>2</sup> It has often fallen to my task to verify the readings of Greek inscrip-

tions previously edited by Chandler, and I have seldom found his copy to require any alteration, whether in the way of addition or correction.



skill and care. The marbles were shipped to England, and now form part of the treasures of the British Museum. The chief results of Mr. Pullan's researches are given in Part iv. of the *Antiquities of Ionia*.

I have been assured by Mr. C. T. Newton, who visited Prienè in 1869 and 1870, as a member of the Society of Dilettanti, that when the site had been cleared by Mr. Pullan, the ruin was still very beautiful. The more interesting indeed of the sculptured marbles had been removed, and nearly all the inscribed blocks. But their removal had relieved the site of much that merely encumbered it. The platform was now clear; and the marble pavement of the temple, in good preservation, was free of rubbish. The lower portions of the walls and of many columns were standing in their original position, and made it easy for the beholder to reconstruct in fancy the ancient proportions of the building. On the floor of the pavement there still remained the lower courses of the pedestal, upon which had stood the image of Athena herself, a statue of which the traveller Pausanias (in the second century A.D.) records his admiration: 'You would be charmed with the temple of Athenè at Prienè in particular, on account of her statue.' In front of the pedestal a semicircular groove in the pavement on either side marked the position of the barrier, or screen, with its metallic gates, which forbade the approach of intruding steps. All this, and more, was still there, as Mr. Pullan's photographs and plans testify to those who had not the good fortune to see the ruin in 1870.<sup>2</sup>

It is sad to think that the intelligent interest shown in a ruin by Western archaeologists has usually the effect of hastening its utter destruction. No sooner had the English explorers bidden farewell to Prienè, than the stonemasons of the nearest Greek village established themselves among the ruins, and began to work up into doorsteps, or tombstones, those beautiful marble blocks which had been shaped and dressed by the Greek workmen of Alexander's age. The temple ruins became now a convenient quarry. In particular

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, vii. 5, § 3: ἡσθείης δ' ἂν καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τῷ ἐν Πρίηνῃ ναφί, τοῦτ' αὖ μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἔνεκα, Ἡρακλείῳ δὲ κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> See the interesting account of Prienè and the beautiful views given by Rayet et Thomas, *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, Paris, 1877-1880.

the large blocks which composed the ancient pedestal of the goddess were one by one dislodged from their place; and within a few months only four of them remained in their ancient position in the centre of the pedestal.<sup>1</sup>

On a Saturday in April 1870, Mr. A. O. Clarke, an Englishman residing in the neighbourhood, paid a visit to the ruins. They were not new to him, as twelve months before he had been there and had carefully examined the work then progressing under the guidance of Mr. Newton and Mr. Pullan. At this second visit he was accompanied by his wife and niece; and upon entering within the temple ruins, he noticed at once the work of destruction which had begun upon the pedestal. While he stood amid its upturned blocks, his eye was caught by a coin lying at his feet. He at once picked it up, and cleansed it; and found it to be of silver, and inscribed with the name of Orophernes. The idea then struck him that the coin had been turned up from under the marbles of the pedestal; and he conceived the wish to remove and examine the four blocks which still remained *in situ*. Two masons at work among the ruins were soon employed at the task; their crowbars soon removed the first stone of the four, and under it was found a silver coin similar to the one already picked up. A second stone was dislodged, with a similar result. The removal of the other two blocks brought no more coins to light; but under them were found portions of a golden chaplet of olive leaves, and other objects of value. A search among the rubbish for more coins was attended with no further success, although two or three Greeks from Kelebesh, who had come to Priène to see Mr. Clarke, joined in the task; while some Yuruks from the hill side, attracted by the good luck of the Franks whom they saw examining the ruins, all joined in the general search. At length Mr. Clarke and his party went away, with the three coins and other objects.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Rayet says (*ibid.* vol. ii. p. 2) that as late as 1874 he proposed to the authorities of the Louvre to secure for the French nation various architectural fragments of great beauty even then remaining amid the ruins. His suggestion received no attention, and most of the marbles he spoke of

are now destroyed.

<sup>2</sup> These details we learn from the letter of Mr. Clarke himself to Gen. Fox, published by Mr. C. T. Newton in his paper 'On an inedited Tetradrachm of Orophernes II.,' in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, xi. p. 19.

This happened on the Saturday. The next day being Sunday, all the inhabitants of Kelebesh, men, women, and children, sallied forth to Prienè, bent on the discovery of treasure. So sure were they that it was to be found, that two Jews followed them, armed with a free supply of ready cash to purchase any bargains that might be turned up. The ruined temple was thus handed over to a rapacious mob. Pickaxe, lever, crowbar were brought to work, to upturn, to dislodge, to thrust aside whatever might be thought to conceal treasures. The search, so insanely attempted, had no other result than to spoil the beauty of the ruins; nothing whatever was found. On the Monday following, however, the Greek masons who had assisted Mr. Clarke, in looking over the rubbish near the pedestal, found a further fragment of a gold chaplet, and two more coins like the others, making five in all. A sixth was subsequently purchased by Mr. Newton at Prienè, but was unfortunately lost.

One of these coins, which were in excellent preservation, is now in the British Museum, and is photographed in Mr. Head's *Coins of the Ancients*, Plate 51, No. 23. It is a silver tetradrachm (the equivalent of a four-franc piece), and is described in numismatic terms as follows:—

*Obverse*.—Male head to right, beardless, and bound with a fillet.

*Reverse*.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΟΡΟΦΕΡΝΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (King Orophernes the victorious). The legend surrounds a figure of Victory moving to left, and clad in a tunic that reaches her feet; she holds in her right hand a wreath, in her left a palm branch. In front of her is an owl standing on an altar, perhaps in allusion to the goddess Athenè.

Who is this Orophernes?

It is beyond question that the prince who struck these coins is Orophernes II., King of Cappadocia. He was brought into singular relations with the city of Prienè, and his adventures made a deep impression upon the political world of his day. The historian Polybius appears to have related them with much detail. He was a contemporary of Orophernes, and was living at Rome when the disputes about the Cappadocian succession were being discussed in the senate, and he was fully acquainted with the intrigues that were going on respecting it among the

leading Roman politicians. Unhappily a great part of his narrative is extant only in extracts and fragments. But I think it evident that all the statements about Orophernes in Diodorus Siculus and others, came straight from Polybius, and may therefore be fully believed.

We are told that Antiochis, the wife of Ariarathes IV., King of Cappadocia, disappointed at having no heir, imposed upon her husband two pretended sons, of whom this Orophernes was one. Some years later, however, she gave birth to a legitimate heir, who afterwards succeeded his father as Ariarathes V. Upon the birth of her child, Antiochis confessed to her husband the true facts of the case, and arranged to exclude the two other princes from the succession. One of them upon a convenient pretext was despatched to Rome, and seems never to have been heard of afterwards. The other, Orophernes, was sent into Ionia, where he was brought up amid surroundings of ease and luxury, which seemed likely to stifle any aspirations to the Cappadocian throne.<sup>1</sup> Ariarathes V. accordingly succeeded his father B.C. 162. But at once Orophernes came forth from retirement as a pretender to the throne; his claim being supported by the Syrian monarch Demetrius Soter, who had a personal grudge against Ariarathes for refusing his sister in marriage.<sup>2</sup> It is also said that Demetrius accepted large gifts and larger promises from his *protégé*. The result was that Ariarathes was driven from his kingdom, and Orophernes enthroned in his place, B.C. 158.<sup>3</sup> Ariarathes, who is described as an excellent and cultivated prince, hastened to Rome to lay his grievances before the senate; and he was followed thither by envoys from Demetrius Soter, and also from Orophernes. The latter sent valuable presents to Rome, and endeavoured to secure interest in every possible way. Polybius was at Rome at the time, and the account he gives of these transactions is not creditable to Roman diplomacy.<sup>4</sup> The case of Ariarathes was a good one; but he stood alone, and perhaps had not, when coming to Rome, 'put money in his purse.' The envoys of Demetrius lied without scruple. Orophernes made interest by his gifts. The result was such as might be expected—an

<sup>1</sup> Athen. x. 440, expressly citing Polybius as his authority; Diod. Sic. xxxi. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Justin, xxxv. 1; Appian, *Syr.* 47.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. xxxi. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. xxxii. 20.

unworkable compromise. Ariarathes was restored,<sup>1</sup> but not to an undivided rule. Orophernes was to have a share in the kingdom, the territory of Cappadocia being perhaps divided between them.<sup>2</sup> This happened B.C. 157. The unnatural scheme did not last long. From the first there began to be disputes between the two kings, ending in the final expulsion of Orophernes amid the execration of his subjects, whom he had alienated by avaricious extortion to gratify his own indulgence, and to reward his patrons.<sup>3</sup>

Certainly Polybius, who knew the facts, described the character of Orophernes in no pleasing terms. Brought up in Ionia, an exile and a pretender, he early developed the vices of an adventurer. In public life he was unscrupulous; as a ruler, selfish and extortionate; in private, a hard drinker. His portrait on the coins is finely modelled, and does not conflict with this view of his character. It is the portrait of a handsome, clever, and capable man, young in years, but not in experience of the world. His chin is unbearded, but his forehead is lined with care. The fine profile bespeaks a resolute will and energetic purpose. The nostril is delicately moulded, and, like the mouth, suggests a nature sensitive to pleasure though refined in taste; but the lower lip has a sensual expression, and there is a certain restlessness and impatience marked upon the whole face, which suits well with his chequered career.<sup>4</sup>

I reserve to the last the curious episode in the life of Orophernes, which connects him with Prienè. Upon gaining the crown in 158 B.C., in the true spirit of a pretender, he deposited 400 talents (about £100,000) with the Prienians, as something to fall back upon if fortune forsook him.<sup>5</sup> This sum they deposited doubtless in their temple of Athenè; for the temples of antiquity were often so employed, as the safest banks of deposit. His selection of Prienè for this purpose may have had something to do with his Ionian experiences. Prienè was quite a small and unimportant place;<sup>6</sup> but it had

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.* 47; Polyb. iii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, plate

<sup>2</sup> Appian, *Syr.* 47; Polyb. xxxiii.

51, fig. 23.

12: μετέλαβε τῆς ἀρχῆς.

<sup>5</sup> Polyb. xxxiii. 12; Diod. Sic.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. xxxiii. 12 a; Athen. x.

xxx. 4.

440 b; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 41; Diod.

<sup>6</sup> Aeschines, *De Falsa Leg.* p. 286.

Sic. xxxi. 43.

contrived to maintain a creditable position for independence among all the vicissitudes of these troubled times.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it was considered at this period to be attached to the Syrian monarchy; possibly Orophernes had lived there in his exile. At all events, by becoming guardians of this treasure, the Prienians drew upon themselves the attention of all Greece. For Ariarathes V. no sooner regained possession of his kingdom than he demanded the money for himself. Orophernes, he contended, had placed it there in his capacity as king; and therefore the money should be restored to the royal exchequer. The contemporary world argued the question *pro* and *con*, as a point of casuistry. The Prienians declined to restore the deposit to any one, except to Orophernes, while he lived. Polybius frankly says, they did quite right. Upon their refusal, Ariarathes invaded the Prienian territory, with the assistance of the King of Pergamon, pillaging and slaying all they could find, up to the very walls of Prienè. Despairing of deliverance, yet firm in their refusal, the Prienians appealed to Rhodes, and then to the Roman senate.<sup>2</sup> Of the subsequent details of the controversy we are not fully informed. We should know more, if an inscription now in the British Museum,<sup>3</sup> which was engraved upon the walls of the Prienian temple, were still complete. In its fragmentary state we can but decipher the names of 'Orophernes,' 'King Attalus and King Ariarathes;' we read of certain treasures deposited 'by Orophernes in the temple of Athenè,' of 'the siege of the city,' 'the carrying off of cattle and slaves,' and of an appeal to 'the senate.' Polybius merely affirms that the Prienians held fast to their deposit, and finally surrendered it to Orophernes himself.

We need not pursue further his adventures. We are told that when it suited him he afterwards joined in the coalition which crushed Demetrius, thus 'biting the hand that had fed him.' His end is unrecorded. It is clear that the coins found by Mr. Clarke must have been struck by Orophernes when first he became King of Cappadocia, B.C. 158. It is observed that

<sup>1</sup> Reference may be made to an article on this subject in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iv. p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. xxxiii. 12; Diod. Sic. xxxi. 43.

<sup>3</sup> It will appear as No. ccccxxiv. of the *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, of which Part 3 is now in the press.

they bear no resemblance to the other coinage of the Cappadocian dynasty, but correspond to the style and the standard of the Ionian coinage of the period.<sup>1</sup> It is suggested that, having been educated in Ionia, he preferred the more refined style of Ionian art, and may have employed the mint of Prienè to strike these very coins: this would account for the owl on the reverse. The shortness of his reign partly accounts for the circumstance that no other of his coins have ever yet been found. What few pieces he did circulate, would of course be suppressed by Ariarathes, upon his recovering the sole authority. It is not necessary to suppose that the six coins discovered under the stones of the pedestal, were part of the deposit of 400 talents. It is a far more probable conjecture that Orophernes, after receiving back his deposit, dedicated the pedestal and the statue upon it to Athenè Polias, by way of recompense to the Prienians for the losses they had sustained in guarding the treasure. Accordingly, in erecting the pedestal, he had certain of his coins placed between the marble courses.<sup>2</sup>

In editing the inscriptions brought by Mr. Pullan from Prienè, it fell to my task to study closely the history of Orophernes; and it was impossible not to ask myself, 'Has this adventurous prince anything to do with the Holofernes of Judith?' The closer I scanned the situation of contemporary politics, and realised the attitude of the Jews towards the movements going on in Syria, the clearer it seemed that the Cappadocian prince whom Demetrius Soter had made his tool, might easily have been known by name to the Jews as the friend of their great enemy; and the conviction thus became irresistible that the author of Judith could hardly have learned the alien name Holofernes through any other channel than this, and therefore that the date of the book cannot be earlier, and is probably not much later, than B.C. 150.

Thus we arrive at much the same result as Ewald, though by a very different path. The latest results of Greek archaeology curiously illustrate, and so far confirm, the views of the great literary critic. There may be many who will be glad to be

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks of Mr. Newton, in the Memoir above cited.

<sup>2</sup> Fragments of the colossal statue are now preserved in the British

Museum; see Mr. Newton's remarks in the *Numismatic Chronicle* just cited; also in Part iv. of *Antiquities of Ionia*, p. 25.

introduced to the historical personality, and even to the actual features of the contemporary prince, whose name and fame lent themselves to the service of the author of the book of Judith.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name is properly Orophernes ('Οροφέρνης), being so written on the coins and in the inscription from Prienè, as well as in Polybius, Aelian, and Athenæus. Diodorus Siculus appears to fluctuate between 'Οροφέρνης and

'Ολοφέρνης. Probably the Aramaic original of Judith spelt the name with *l* for *r*. The aspirate may be regarded as a mere corruption, arising from a recollection of compounds in *éλο-*.

E. L. HICKS.



## SOME ARCHAIC GORGONS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[PLS. LIX. AND D.]

AMONGST the numerous Gorgon heads, dispersed through the different rooms of the British Museum, and unknown to me when I wrote my essay on the history of this type,<sup>1</sup> there are several which deserve to be published and thus made known more generally to archæologists than they could be by exhibition even in a Museum so justly celebrated and so well arranged. It is not the object, however, of this paper to give a supplement to the cumbrous catalogue I have published, as the interest in many an instance would be but small, and to most readers of this *Journal* none whatever; but I will try to give so much of the results of my researches as may exhibit the value of those monuments to which I wish to draw attention as these in some cases fill up a gap, and in others raise points of interest and even sometimes seem to confirm some of my suggestions.

Generally speaking the evidence drawn from the classic authors as to the types of Gorgon they were in the habit of seeing is confirmed by the monuments, but on the whole these are more fitted to explain the authors than the authors to explain them. For instance, the scheme of the Gorgon head on a small ægis woven in the swaddling clothes of the infant Ion, as described by Euripides,<sup>2</sup> would hardly be as clear to us

<sup>1</sup> J. Six, *Specimen literarium inaugurale de Gorgone*. Amstelodami, 1885.

<sup>2</sup> *Ion*, v. 1421:—  
Γοργῶν μὲν ἐν μέθοισιν ἡπείλοισι πέπλων·  
v. 1428:—  
κεκρασπέδωται τ' ὕφαισιν αἰγίδος τρόπον.

as it is, but that we find the device coming into use about the same time on a small gold coin of Syracuse,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps on the shield of the Parthenos herself, where it seems to have taken in 399-8, B.C. the place of the golden gorgoneion stolen some years before.<sup>2</sup>

Of course we must be careful to explain Pindar and Aeschylus from the monuments which date from their age, and not, as Levezow, *e.g.*, in his otherwise valuable paper on this subject<sup>3</sup> has done, compare with a passage such as that of Pindar in the Xth Pythian ode, v. 16, a type which only arose at least a hundred years later. Nevertheless, we may sometimes gain valuable knowledge from a comparison between author and monuments. It has been shown for instance by Prof. Loescheke that the pseudo-Hesiodic description of the shield of Heracles corresponds to the art of the end of the seventh century; and if in regard to the myth of Perseus and the Gorgon the *cylindrus* published in this *Journal*<sup>4</sup> by Mr. Cecil Smith is in some respects the best illustration of the pseudo-Hesiodic text, though it can hardly be assigned to so early a date, this may be owing to our lack of material rather than to any other cause, as we have sufficient points of comparison in other respects in a work of earlier date.<sup>5</sup>

But the most interesting statements for the history of our subject may be derived from pseudo-Hesiod and Homer, who both seem to point to Cyprus as the place whence the Greeks learned the Gorgon. I cannot here repeat the argument at length, but it will perhaps suffice to observe that the first mention Homer makes of this monster is in describing the shield of Agamemnon,<sup>6</sup> evidently a piece of Cyprian workmanship, and that in the lengthy description of the Shield of Heracles,<sup>7</sup> as in later mythographies, the bag destined to hold the head of Medusa is called by a foreign word, *cibisis*, which, as Hesychius informs us, was Cyprian. Nor is this supposition in contradiction with Hesiod, whose genealogy points to the south of Asia Minor, and whose mention of the birth of

<sup>1</sup> *Num. Chron.* N.S. xlv. pl. iii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *De Gorgone*, p. 62, iv. 3 b.

<sup>3</sup> Levezow, *Ueber die Entwicklung des Gorgonen-Ideals. Abhand. d. Berliner Acad.* 1832.

<sup>4</sup> 1884, pl. xliii.

<sup>5</sup> A black-figured *lebes* in the Louvre. *Catalogue Campana*, ii. 25; *de Gorgone*, ii. 1 c.

<sup>6</sup> *Il.* xi. v. 36.

<sup>7</sup> v. 216-236.

Pegasus and Chrysaor<sup>1</sup> finds its oldest illustration on a Cyprian sarcophagus.<sup>2</sup>

The monuments at least do not gainsay these statements, as the earlier fictile works of Greece, the Mycenaean pottery and the Dipylon vases, and even the geometrical vases bear no Gorgon, and the oldest representations which have come to my knowledge, though not found in Cyprus—whence I know none older than the middle of the sixth century—came from the islands on the way from Cyprus to the Peloponnesus and from the Peloponnesus itself, from Rhodes (?),<sup>3</sup> Melos<sup>4</sup> and Sparta.<sup>5</sup>

And this might have been expected, since the Cyprians, being, as we know from their dialect, Arcadians, the intercourse with the Peloponnesus must have been in early times more frequent than with other regions; nor can we wonder at finding that among Greek towns an Arcadian town alone, Tegea, preserved a myth connected with the story of Perseus and Medusa, though independent of the regular and rather sober myth.

That in Cyprus also a version differing from the received one was known is shown by the sarcophagus already mentioned—though we cannot ascertain its details. We may safely assume that wherever the flood of material is most copious we are nearest to the source, and it is for this reason that I am happy to introduce to archaeologists, in plate LIX. another specimen of high antiquity found in Rhodes which presents an entirely new form of the myth, though the head of the Gorgon does not differ widely from known types. My attention was kindly directed to it by Prof. Loeschke. As the present paper owes its origin to the wish of having this interesting type published, we shall have to consider it somewhat more closely than others, and if we do not, as I fear, succeed entirely in explaining its meaning, we can at least ascertain its place in the series of earliest types.

We will not therefore treat of the Melian and Spartan Gorgons already mentioned as they both represent, as a glance at engravings of them will show better than words, different

<sup>1</sup> *Theog.* v. 281.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue Archéologique*, 1875, pl. ii.  
Cesnola-Stern, *Cyprum*, pl. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> *De Gorgone*, iii. 1 a, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Conze, *Melische Thongefässe* pl. iii.

<sup>5</sup> Milchhofer, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1881,  
pl. xvii. 1.

types which though very interesting in themselves, are not so widely spread as the one we have to deal with. The standard example of this class is a large bronze, which I saw two years ago in the store-house of the Louvre. It is the foot, it appears, of a tripod in the shape of a Gorgon kneeling on both knees and supporting on the crown which decks her head a lion's paw. She wears a long and close-fitting garment which helps not a little to impart an air of high antiquity to the figure. She has no wings. The head is as broad as it is high owing to the large jaws which inclose the widely opened mouth, armed with many teeth, which do not however as yet protrude. The tongue, which is hardly ever wanting, seems to be worn away. The nose is short and the top divided in three nearly equal circular parts. The large and widely opened eyes were set with precious stones or filled with paint. The forehead is surrounded by short curls, but the rest of the hair falls down in long tresses. On those curls rests the crown. This large bronze was found in the Archipelago, or perhaps in Rhodes.

On our plate we find most in accordance with this description the shape of the head, the inorganic ornamental shape of the nose and the crown which decks the head, here however underneath the hair, which does not fall down in tresses but in loose locks, as on the coins of Populonia, and already surrounds the head as a sort of beard or mane. The tongue is thrust out but small. To a row of small teeth are added at each side a single boar's tusk. The chin is ornamented in the same way as the nose. The ears are very large. This Gorgon belongs to the small class which wear a long chiton, and moreover has four curved wings, a combination somewhat better known to later times but always rare. Her garment, open at the left side, leaves bare the left leg, which, by the by, has a right foot, and falling down in front over a broad girdle, seems to be nothing else but a Doric chiton. The Gorgon holds with each hand by the neck a swan, the feet of which rest on her leg or dress. This scheme fills up the whole of the plate, leaving only here and there room for small ornaments which even cover the bare arms and leg of the Gorgon and the wings of the swans. These, and still more the design of the border, are the last remnants of the wickerwork patterns which had so large a share in the ornamentation of the older Rhodian plates and dishes, and

suggested those rays issuing from the centre and filling up half the circular field, which give so peculiar a character to Rhodian ware. There is another indication, as Mr. Cecil Smith observed to me, confirming the view that this plate is one of the latest of its type, namely, the use of engraved lines and outlines in the figures of the swans and in the folds of the chiton and the ornaments of the girdle, which though very rude seem to be the first attempts towards those beautiful engravings which we admire in the black figured vases of the best Attic style. The painting is of a bright reddish colour and the material the usual yellow earthenware formed by the potter's wheel, as may be detected on examining the plate. In the ridge running around the bottom of the plate are, as usual, two holes which appear to have been made before baking. I should not however like to conclude thence that these plates were made solely to adorn a tomb, as the ancient Rhodians may as well have used their plates and dishes for the adornment of their abodes as other peoples in more recent times, and as we know the Greeks to have done with their drinking cups.

But coming back to our theme we still have to find out the meaning of this Gorgonic figure holding in each hand a swan, and as there is no myth of the Gorgon which mentions anything of the kind, we have either to seek another name for this goddess, or to accept a not altogether impossible interpretation. I have in a similar case, the Gorgonic figure holding two lions by the throat on a fragment of a bronze chariot found at Perugia, tried the first method, venturing, not however without many doubts, to explain it as *Kήρ*,<sup>1</sup> but though I still hold that other daemons besides the Gorgon must have had the same aspect, and that some barbaric peoples may have venerated more deities of the kind than the Greeks adopted from them, I do not see that this could help us much in explaining the present type.

On the contrary all the ancient poets and mythographers tell us that the Gorgons dwelt near the ocean, whether on a mythical island or on the shore, either on this side, or across in the land of utter darkness. And just as I think it is now generally assumed that the deer and the beasts of prey in the hands of the so-called Persian Artemis have hardly any other

<sup>1</sup> *De Gorgone*, p. 82.

meaning save to symbolize her dwelling in the mountains, so it seems this Gorgon is localised by the swans as living on the banks of the ocean. It would hardly be worth while to cite any authority for so well-known a fact, as that these banks were thought of as frequented by swans, were it not that the following lines from the *Shield of Heracles* (v. 314)

ἀμφὶ δ' ἵτυν ῥέεν Ὀκεανὸς πλήθοντι ἐοικώς·  
 πᾶν δὲ συνείχε σάκος πολυδαίδαλον· οἱ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν  
 κύκνοι ἀερσιπτόται μεγάλ' ἤπυον, οἳ ρά τε πολλοὶ  
 νήχον ἐπ' ἄκρον ὕδωρ, πὰρ δ' ἰχθύες ἐκλονέοντο.

explained at the same time as emblematic of the ocean those long rows of swans or other aquatic birds on many ancient vases and thus taught us how this combination of ideas might be familiar to the artist's mind.

It is curious that this Gorgon in so uncommon a scheme finds its nearest analogy as to her type of head in the not less rare male Gorgonic figure found at Orvieto,<sup>1</sup> which still remains unexplained, but has a pronounced Asiatic character.

Another example of this same type of head is presented by a small aryballos in the first vase-room (case 58) of the British Museum, made in the shape of a Gorgon's head and neck: this type, though not of so great antiquity as I had supposed before seeing it, is nevertheless interesting from its close similarity to another example now at Vienna.<sup>2</sup> The Viennese specimen was found at Kilo near Budrun, that of the British Museum at Vulci in Italy; facts worthy of note considering the rarity and early date of these vases.

On the whole this type of Gorgon has been most widely spread on archaic vases, Corinthian, Cyrenaic (?) and Attic, with black figures, which as a rule present the same type with slight variation, which gradually deteriorates till it hardly bears any resemblance whatever to a human head.

I will not repeat here the history of this whole class, but I must point out a few Corinthian specimens new to me. In my previous work when pointing out the foreign origin of the Gorgon and its absence from earlier Greek art, I added to the

<sup>1</sup> *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1877, taf. ix. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *De Gorgone*, t. i. iii, 1 b.



ALABASTOS FROM CAIRO: HALF SCALE.

above-mentioned vases the Corinthian pottery of so-called Asiatic type. Now, however, the British Museum yields some interesting examples of this class. The first vase-room (case *B*) contains two large dishes, Nos. 15 and 16, bearing in the middle a large Gorgoneion of the usual Corinthian type<sup>1</sup> surrounded by wild beasts and sphinxes, or sirens, intermixed with flowers. The ornamentation of the outside is the same in both, but in No. 16 already mixed up with human figures. The same room has in case 57 an alabastos found at Camiros of the same style, decorated on a field of flowers with a swan and in front of it a flying Gorgon, who, though the peculiar shape of her head may be due to the shape of the vase, and all attempts to bring it to a certain class may therefore be useless, still remains of real interest owing to its look of high antiquity resulting from the very antique mode of painting and decorating. It is figured on the preceding page.

It is not perhaps unnecessary to be very cautious in our judgments, as we may see from another example. A small vase in the shape of a foot (second vase-room, case 2), has on a square handle a Gorgon head nearly identical with that of a large crater<sup>2</sup> in the Louvre which looks ancient enough. Yet this foot, though I cannot fix exactly its date, is of too good workmanship and finish to be as early as the Corinthian vases are generally thought to be. But might not some Corinthian vases of careless workmanship, just as the last Attic vases with black figures,<sup>3</sup> come down a long way into the fifth century? There really seems to be some ground for supposing that the progress in art of the workmen in other regions of Greece did not move abreast with that at Athens.

Before dismissing the vases we ought to mention the *Oenochoe* of Amasis,<sup>4</sup> in the second vase-room, case 22, with representation of the death of Medusa. As Prof. Loeschcke<sup>5</sup> has assigned it its place in the history of Perseus-types, we have here only to treat of the Gorgon, who constitutes a link between the older type with a short chiton only, in its latest example girded by two large snakes, and the subsequent type clothed

<sup>1</sup> *De Gorgona*, iii. 3 b.

<sup>2</sup> *De Gorgone*, p. 9, t. i. iii. 2 b; *Cal. Campana*, iv. 84.

<sup>3</sup> I am not speaking now of the Panathenaic Amphorae.

<sup>4</sup> Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1881, p. 31.



with an animal's hide, and whose type of head is midway between that usual on the vases and that other type not less widely spread on Asiatic and Cyprian coins and Sicilian terracottas, which is best represented by the Medusa of the Selinus metope. That we should find just here a closer resemblance to that most widely spread family in a representation of the same subject, Perseus killing Medusa, might be fortuitous, as another Gorgoneion from the hand of Amasis, lately published,<sup>1</sup> shows exactly the same type, and at least one of those we have from Exekias<sup>2</sup> seems to be very like, but it remains nevertheless curious that, as Prof. Loeschke has observed, both monuments seem to point to a common origin of their subject by the beardlessness of Perseus, by no means common in those early times. Amasis has adorned both Gorgon heads with large snakes, known already from a large *lebes*<sup>3</sup> with black figures in the Louvre, the François vase<sup>4</sup> and others, and which from very early times, though never exclusively, surround this head in the art of Greece proper and the Asiatic colonies, but are nearly unknown in Sicily. It is difficult to settle this point in respect to the Etruscan Gorgon as long as the Greek or Italian origin remains doubtful in the case of so many objects found in Italy.

It is this same consideration which induces me to linger for a few moments over a pair of bronze greaves found at Ruvo, bequeathed together with a cuirass and triple-crested helmet to the British Museum by Sir William Temple (second bronze-room, case 2). These greaves are decorated at the knee with an embossed running Gorgon, holding with both hands a snake, clad in a short chiton and winged shoes indicated by engraved lines. The head and hair, excepting the crown, and the beard are of the same type as those on a piece of bronze horse armour<sup>5</sup> and a pair of greaves<sup>6</sup> brought also from Southern Italy by Maler, and with his collection acquired by the Karlsruhe Museum. The likeness is enhanced by the use of ivory for the tongue and teeth, the fact that in both the eyes were originally

<sup>1</sup> *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1884, taf. li. n.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* ii. 1853, t. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> *De Gorgone*, p. 8, t. i. iii. 1 c; *Cat. Campana*, ii. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* iv. t. 54—58.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Grossherz. Badische Alterthümer Sammlung zu Karlsruhe*, iii. taf. 18; *de Gorgone*, p. 21, t. ii. iii. 6 d.

<sup>6</sup> *De Gorgone*, p. 21, t. ii. iii. 6 e.

set with gems or filled in with paint, by the same combination of embossed work with engraved lines, and the erect entwined snakes along the sides of the greaves. As many of these peculiarities together with a general likeness are found also on some armour from the Crimea,<sup>1</sup> with a Gorgoneion at the elbow, no doubt remains but that the source whence these arms originate was situated somewhere in Greece proper; and as the Gorgoneia, specially the larger ones, show a great likeness to the coins of the latter half of the sixth century attributed either to Athens or to Eretria, it seems probable that this armour dates from the same time and the same region, where if we seek for a renowned factory of armour we shall find Chalcis in the highest repute, and Euboea in the most favourable condition to spread its wares to east and west. Whether the greave copied by Weiss<sup>2</sup> from Rochstuhl, *Musée de rares et anciennes armes*, is of the same fabric I am not able to decide. It looks somewhat later. The greaves worn by Menelaus on a vase of Hieron, painted by Macron,<sup>3</sup> seem to be of the same type though later.

It would be hardly less interesting to know whence comes the handle of a large flat and circular or oval object from the Payne-Knight collection. (Pl. D.) If it is, as I suppose, Etruscan, we must of course despair of explaining its meaning. Yet it seems worth describing. The real handle, on each side of which is a Triton, bears in relief two Gorgons bending forward in consequence of the shape of the handle, and sustaining each other by the elbow with outstretched hand. The knees are slightly bent, and the wings folded, which gives a very peculiar look to this strange composition. The heads are, of course, seen *de face*, but not upright. They belong to the same type as those already mentioned, but are much later. The figures are clad in a short folded garment, and wear shoes with large wings. The space between the heads is decorated by a rosette. I dare not even guess what the meaning of all this may be, and should not like to follow those who find a family connection between Iris and Medusa, and might perhaps explain this as a symbolic picture of the rainbow resting on the waters. It will be best to accept it for the moment as merely decorative.

Etruria, I suppose, afforded another curious object, a carnelian-

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquités du Bospore Cimmérien*, pl. xxviii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Kostümkunde*, ii. fig. 280.

<sup>3</sup> *Gazette Archéologique*, 1880, t. 7, 8.

lian, cut more or less in the shape of a scarab, completely covered by four outstretched wings, on which is a Gorgon head and neck of good work (No. 1),<sup>1</sup> which finds its nearest analogues in real Etruscan examples, and may be best dated by comparison of a terra-cotta acroterion from Mont' Alcinò, now at Leyden,<sup>2</sup> which is evidently older, and a golden fragment of a four-winged head,<sup>3</sup> or an engraving on a mirror<sup>4</sup> both of later Etruscan art. But the shape of the mouth comes nearest to that on a small silver coin from Asia Minor, which on one side has a Gorgon head surrounded by four wings also, though not disposed in the same way, and on the reverse a four-winged Harpy to right in an incuse square,<sup>5</sup> which coin may, I think, be attributed to Cilicia, perhaps to Mallus.<sup>6</sup>



1.



2.

## ETRUSCAN GEMS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The stone therefore would seem to point to a closer connection than I dared accept before, between the four-winged Asiatic Gorgon and the later Etruscan head with beautiful features;<sup>7</sup> on it the wings are disposed much in the same way as those of the Seraphim of Christian art. The second gem engraved, also from the British Museum, occupies a place in the same line of descent.

It is a real pity that we know no older representations of the Seraph than those of Christian times, as there would be many points of comparison between Gorgon and Seraph in

<sup>1</sup> The woodcut is not altogether successful, and represents the general scheme of the gem better than details, such as chin and mouth.

<sup>2</sup> Janssen, *Terracotten te Leyden*, ii. 7; *de Gorgone*, tab. ii. iii. 8 a.

<sup>3</sup> Micali, *Storia d. ant. Pop. tav.*

li. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, cxxi.

<sup>5</sup> Von Prokesch-Osten, *Inedita*, 1854, t. iv. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *De Gorgone*, p. 31, adn. 1.

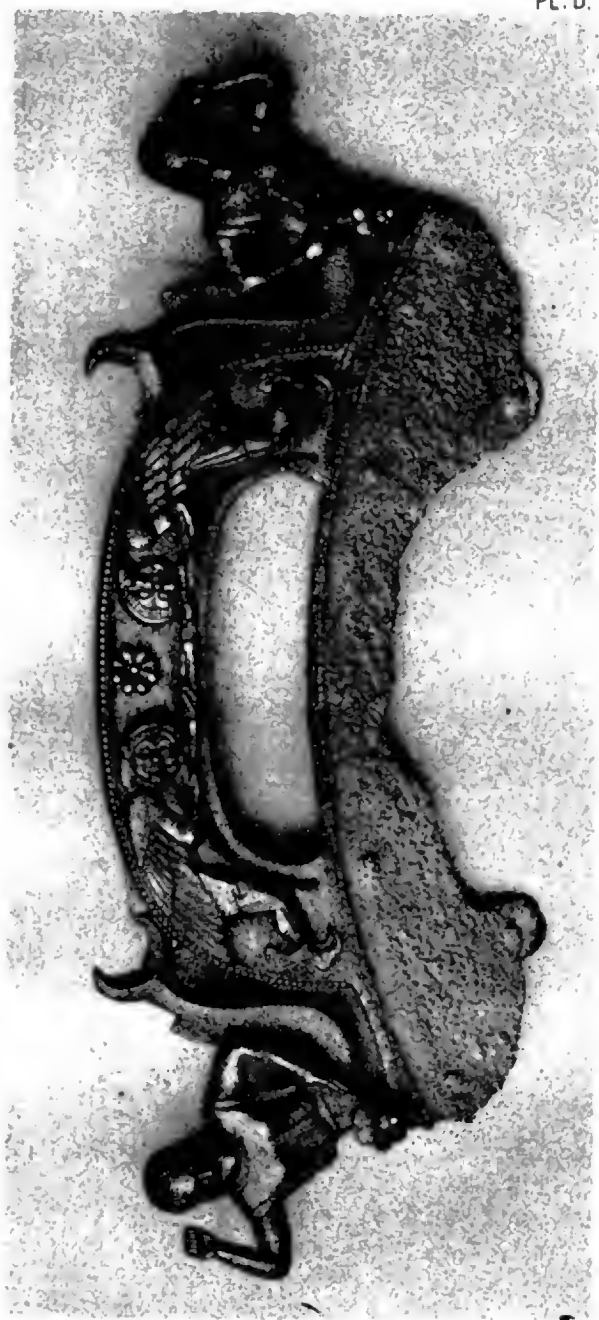
<sup>7</sup> Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, ccccxvii.

name, in symbols and in apotropaic use, even perhaps in origin; but however interesting this question might be, the time seems not yet come to treat it with competence and with sufficient detail.

I need hardly repeat that I do not pretend to exhaust here the material supplied by the British Museum, but I must remind the reader that, as the title of this paper shows, I abstain purposely from mentioning any of the later Gorgoneia on terra-cotta, vases, or gems, in which classes of remains the Museum has still many an object well worthy of being published.

J. SIX.

*September, 1885.*





# SARAPIS STANDING ON A XANTHIAN MARBLE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[PLS. LVIII. AND E.]

AMONG the Xanthian monuments brought over from Lycia under the direction of Sir Charles Fellows, in 1844, there is a square block of white marble, the only printed notice of which to my knowledge is to be found in the old 'Synopsis of the contents of the British Museum,' Lycian Saloon, no. 173: 'Monument found in a Roman bath; on one side are Plutus and Tyche standing, full face; on the other is a Persian shooting arrows in a cave, in which are an ox, a stork, a dog, a boar, a lizard, grasshopper, and fox.' (Comp. Vaux, *Handbook*, p. 162.) As to the locality, my friend George Scharf, Fellows' companion in that journey, informs me from his diary that the monument was disinterred on the Roman acropolis, in January 1844. The building, situated at the foot of a polygonal wall, the chief ornament of which was a mosaic pavement including a standing figure of Leda with the swan beside her, was 'a house, palace, or bath.' I am of opinion that the contents of the reliefs are not particularly favourable to the supposition of a bath.

The marble which is now placed in the new Lycian Room, no. 103, merits a greater interest than it seems to have met with hitherto. Plate LVIII. shows the two faces; the back view is on a slightly smaller scale than the front. Broken at the foot, the remainder has a height of 0·74 m. at the front, and of 0·81 at the back; width of each face 0·79. The sides as well as the top being but roughly cut, it is evident that the block was originally let into a wall or some other architectural construction. The style of the relief on the front has some similarity

with that of numerous sepulchral monuments originating from the islands of the Archipelago and the neighbouring shores of Asia Minor. Notwithstanding the very flat pediment, the monument is scarcely anterior to the Roman epoch. No remains are left of that peculiar Lycian style which we know from the reliefs of Gülbashi, the Nereid monument, the tombs of Mereli and Paiava, &c. As in the Greek language the dialects gradually had given way to the *κοινή*, thus also in sculpture at the beginning of the Roman epoch a kind of *κοινή* was established, and the former differences between the provinces of the Hellenized world abolished.

#### FRONT OF THE MARBLE.

The front exhibits two divinities, full faco, enshrined. The low bases on which the figures rest (of the base of the male figure only a small part near the left foot is preserved) prove that they are copies of statues; in the female figure are even retained the clumsy marble supports which, in the original statue, joined both hands with the body. Hence we may infer that the artist intended to render exactly his originals. These must have been some statues which enjoyed peculiar veneration; probably they stood in Xanthos or somewhere in the vicinity.

The explanation of the male figure as Plutos cannot be right. The god of wealth is represented by Greek art either as a child, mostly on the arm of a nurse (Eirene by Kephisodotos, Tyche by Xenophon), or as a youth<sup>1</sup>, always characterized by the cornucopiae; his appearance as a bearded man in full drapery, with a modius on the head, would be completely unheard of. There can be little doubt as to Sarapis being meant, although there is but little evidence of the worship of the Egyptian divinities in Lycia<sup>2</sup>; a similar incongruity however between artistic and written evidence is not rare. Besides, we are more accustomed to statues of Sarapis enthroned, though representations of the god standing are not infrequent, particularly on

<sup>1</sup> See Gerhard, *akadem. Abhandl.* ii. p. 224. Strube, *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. Gr. 4262 (Sidyma). A man

named Isidoros occurs in an inscription, also from Sidyma, in Benndorf, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*, p. 73, no. 51, 32.



coins. It will be worth while to examine more closely these representations, after having cast a glance on the images of Sarapis in general<sup>1</sup>.

*Original statue of the deus Alexandrinus.*—It is beyond my competence to decide the old controversy, whether Sarapis was worshipped in Egypt as early as in pre-Ptolemaic times, or whether he was introduced from abroad, perhaps from Babylon<sup>2</sup>, under the dominion of the first Lagidae. According to the epicritical disquisition of Lumbroso<sup>3</sup>, Sarapis seems only to be the Greek name which came into use in early Ptolemaic times of the old Egyptian god Apis, the representative of infernal Osiris, whose identification with the Hades or Pluto of the Greeks<sup>4</sup> was to bring into harmony, according to the political tendencies of the Ptolemies, the religious beliefs of the ancient and the new inhabitants of Egypt. It is unnecessary to dwell on the extent to which this Egyptian-Hellenic *deus Alexandrinus*, united instead of Osiris with Isis, conquered nearly the whole Greek world, and afterwards a large part of the Roman empire. The only question we have to deal with, is the artistic representation of Sarapis as identified with Pluto. On this point there seem to exist two accounts totally different. The Stoic Athenodoros from Tarsos, one of the teachers of Octavianus<sup>5</sup>, traced back the image of Sarapis to Sesostris, or Rhamses the Great, who had it made by an artist named Bryaxis out of a sevenfold mixture of various metals and of precious stones; the whole was painted over with dark colour. Kroker<sup>6</sup> appears to me to be right in observing that these details refer to a statue

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Overbeck, *griech. Kunst-mythologie*, ii. p. 305. Lafaye, *hist. du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte*, p. 16; 248; 265.—I beg to express my gratitude for several hints and communications, particularly on numismatic points, to my friends, Professor Gardner and Dr. Imhoof-Blumer of Winterthur. To Prof. Gardner I am particularly indebted for the composition of pl. E.

<sup>2</sup> Zoega, *nummi Aegyptii*, p. 398. Plew, *de Sarapide*, Koenigsberg, 1868. The testimony of Ptolemaeus Soter himself in Arrian, vii. 26, 2, proves only that Sarapis, or a divinity identi-

fied with him by Ptolemaeus, was worshipped in Babylon.

<sup>3</sup> *Ricerche alexandrine*, in the *Memorie della R. Accad. di Torino*, 2. ser., vol. xxvii. p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> The oldest witness for this identification is Herakleides Pontikos (Plutarch, *de Is. et Osir.* 27), a contemporary of Alexander the Great and Ptolemaeus Soter.

<sup>5</sup> Clemens Alexandr. *protr.* 4, 48 p. 43 ed. Potter. Comp. the passage in Rufinus, *hist. eccl.* ii. 23, relative to the same statue.

<sup>6</sup> *Griechische gleichnamige Künstler*, Leipz. 1883, p. 20.

not of Greek but of Egyptian art; and indeed the story maintains that Sesostris meant to have his forefather Osiris represented. I am therefore inclined to believe that the assertion of Athenodoros, far from deserving to be rejected as absolutely fabulous, deals with the old Egyptian statue of Osiris as lord of the infernal region, which had its proper place in the ancient sanctuary of Apis in the Rhakotis. Only the name of the artist, Bryaxis, betrays Greek authorship; Athenodoros, however, was prudent enough to point out expressly that this Bryaxis was not the Athenian artist but a mere name-sake of him (οὐχ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἄλλος δέ τις ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνῳ τῷ Βρυάξειδι).

Completely different is another report which concerns the origin of the Greek image of Sarapis in the Rhakotis. This was said by nearly unanimous tradition to have come from Sinope<sup>1</sup>, the difference of opinion referring only to two details. Some authors claim the honour of having introduced the foreign statue for Ptolemæus Soter<sup>2</sup>, others for his successor Philadelphos<sup>3</sup>. Of greater importance is the difference that Plutarch and Clemens regard the statue as representing originally Pluto, whereas Tacitus assigns to it even in its former home at Sinope the name and character of Sarapis<sup>4</sup>. Certainly the former opinion is more trustworthy. The whole account of the bringing over of the statue from Sinope labours, to be sure, under certain difficulties; especially the dearth said to have happened at Sinope is rather remarkable in a chief city of the Póntos so fertile in grain<sup>5</sup>. Hence Lombroso's opinion that the Sinope of the tradition is nothing but a Greek misinterpretation, either intentional or by mistake, of *sen-hapi* 'seat of Apis'<sup>6</sup>, is very alluring; the argument loses however much of its force when we consider that the question is not as to the origin of the god himself and his worship, but only about that of his Greek image.

<sup>1</sup> The expression *Σινωπίνης Ζεὺς* in Dionys. perieg. 255, is due to the later identification of Sarapis with Zeus.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *de Is.* 28. Tacitus, *hist.* iv. 63; 64.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. Alex. *protr.* p. 42. According to Isidoros the statue came from Seleukeia, apparently in the reign of Ptolemæus III. Euergetes, see Clemens and Tacitus, *l. l.*

<sup>4</sup> This discrepancy has been justly

laid stress upon by Lombroso.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Kroker, *l. l.*

<sup>6</sup> Brugsch, *geograph. Inschr.* i. p. 240, has interpreted in this way the *Σινωπίον ἔπος* near Memphis mentioned by Eustathios, *ad Dionys.* 255. Plew seems to be hypercritical in taking (p. 20) that name to be a mere fiction of Eustathios, intended to connect the Sinopian tradition with that of Memphis.

This may, of course, have been made in Alexandria by some Greek artist, but I see no decisive reason why it should not have been introduced from abroad. But at any rate it appears to me inconsistent with sound historical method to mix up the completely different traditions of Athenodoros with that relative to Sinope so as to attribute the Greek statue to Bryaxis who is named only in the former tradition, and to identify this artist, notwithstanding the express warning of Athenodoros, with the Athenian companion of Skopas<sup>1</sup>. There is also another reason to doubt this supposition. The earliest certain representation of Sarapis is on coins of the times of Ptolemæus VI. Philometor, about B.C. 170<sup>2</sup>; the next instances are on rude copper coins of Sicily belonging to the Roman epoch<sup>3</sup>; otherwise Sarapis scarcely occurs on coins anterior to the beginning of the Christian æra. On these coins the god bears no modius, but at the top of his laurel wreath appears the small head-ornament of Osiris; hair and beard are rich and curly; the forehead projects strongly above the eyes. The head has throughout the character of those heads of Zeus which nowadays generally are attributed to the school or artistic influence of Lysippos. Now, the same character strongly marks the many heads of Sarapis to be met on statues, busts, coins, engraved stones. We may therefore conjecture with probability that this head goes back to a famous image in the main place of the worship of Sarapis, and that this was precisely the great statue brought according to the legend to Alexandria by Ptolemy. If this conclusion be right, the artistic character of the image would not well suit the companion of Skopas, but point to a somewhat later epoch. For this reason I should not object to the view of those authorities who assign the introduction of the

<sup>1</sup> Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, i. p. 384, followed by Overbeck, Murray, Mrs. Mitchell, Lafaye, and many others, contradicted by Klein, *archæol.-epigr. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich*, 1881, p. 96, note 30, and Kroker, *l.c.* p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Catal., Ptolemies*, p. 79, pl. 18, 8. Feuardent, *Coll. Giov. Demetrio, Num., Eg. anc.* i. pl. 5, 257. *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* iii. pl. 9, 15. Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf ant. Münzen hellen. Völker*, pl. 8, 12.—*Brit.*

*Mus. Cat., Seleucid Kings*, p. 38, pl. 12, 11. Feuardent, pl. 11, 274.

<sup>3</sup> Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 75, pl. 14, 5. *Brit. Mus. Cat., Sicily*, p. 227, 701, &c. Combe, *Mus. Hunter.*, pl. 16, 2; 3; 6. *Comp. Brit. Mus., Sicily*, p. 51, 59; 62; p. 54, 87-90 (Catana); p. 98, 8 (Menaenum). For more instances see Wieseler, *über einige geschn. Steine*, ii. 1 (*Abh. der Göttinger Ges.* vol. xxxi.), p. 27.

celebrated statue not to Ptolemæus Soter but to one of his successors.

*Attributes of Sarapis; Kerberos.*—Tacitus mentions but generally the attributes (*insignia*) of the statue, from which one might infer the identity of Sarapis and the infernal king (*Dis pater*). Plutarch more especially names Kerberos and the serpent. A still more detailed account is given by Macrobius<sup>1</sup>; he speaks of the *calathus* on the god's head<sup>2</sup>, and distinguishes the three heads of Kerberos entwined by a serpent and sitting to the right of the god. The head in the middle was that of a great lion, that to the right was the head of a tame fawning dog, to the left that of a rapacious wolf. (The symbolical interpretation referring them to present future and past may be set aside.) We are told nowhere distinctly whether the statue represented the god sitting or standing. However, even apart from a coin of Hadrian supposed by Zoega to represent the introduction on ship-board of the Sinopian statue<sup>3</sup>, there can be scarcely a doubt that the chief statue represented the god enthroned. On the numerous coins exhibiting Sarapis standing, Kerberos is rather rare<sup>4</sup>; on the contrary those with Sarapis enthroned exhibit Kerberos, if not without exception, still usually associated with the god, and moreover the many marble statues still extant of Sarapis sitting as a rule place the infernal dog at his right.

We may even go farther. Notwithstanding the contrary assertion of Overbeck<sup>5</sup>, the difference of the three heads as related by Macrobius is still traceable as a peculiarity of the figure of Kerberos. The Rev. S. S. Lewis in Cambridge possesses a statuette of Sarapis, of white marble, formerly in the Demetrio

<sup>1</sup> *Saturn.* i. 20, 13; 14.

<sup>2</sup> We should not be justified if from the want of this attribute in the above-named coins we inferred that it had no place also in the Alexandrian statue. The Ptolemies had sufficient reasons to adorn on their coins the head of the successor of Osiris with the well-known attribute of that national god, instead of covering it with the foreign-looking head ornament of his Greek substitute.

<sup>3</sup> *Nummi Aeg.* p. 133, no. 309, note.

<sup>4</sup> Sarapis, holding in l. staff, extends r. over Cerberus: Zoega, p. 106, 63; 146, 380; 381. Pl. 8, 6 (Hadrian); similarly p. 269, 51 (Severus Alex.). Similar type, except that Sarapis holds in r. a patera: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 46, 34 (Nicopolis, Caracalla); Mionnet, *Suppl.* iv. p. 237, 86 (Pheneos, Plautilla). Comp. the gems in Berlin, Tölken, *Verzeichniss*, no. 69; 70.

<sup>5</sup> *Kunstmythologie*, ii. p. 306.

collection, the description of which by the owner himself I have the greater pleasure in here communicating as I had omitted the monument in my *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*. 'At the right hand of the god, Cerberus, wolf, lion, and dog; the wolf-head looks sorrowfully downwards, the lion-head looks straight forward under the control of the master's hand, pressing his head; the dog-head at his knee looks up lovingly for orders.' It is worth mentioning that this statuette comes from Alexandria. But generally in statues and statuettes the middle head is of a broader, not seldom of a lion-like type—especially



CERBERUS IN BRONZE: BRIT. MUS.

so in the statue at Castle Howard<sup>1</sup>,—whereas the two other heads are almost always more pointed, more like a greyhound's head. Besides, the head nearest to the god is usually uplifted, or at least directed towards the master<sup>2</sup>; much rarer is the direction downwards of the outmost head<sup>3</sup>. A similar difference of direction is visible on coins of Alexandria<sup>4</sup>, on terra-cotta lamps<sup>5</sup>, in some small bronze statuettes of Kerberos which, although separated from the god, still by themselves give sufficient proof that they belong to the same type<sup>6</sup>. In one of them

<sup>1</sup> Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles in Gr. Br.* p. 327, no. 12. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1885, p. 35. Also in the Lansdowne statue (*Anc. M.* p. 470, no. 97. Clarac, iv. 758, 1851 A) the middle head, the snout of which is modern, is much broader.

<sup>2</sup> See the instances given in Clarac, iv. pl. 757. Cavalieri *Ant. stat.* i. 111.

et 117. pl. 28 (*in aedibus Vularum*).

<sup>3</sup> Lansdowne House, no. 97. Clarac, iv. 758, 1851 A.—Brit. Museum, *Gr.-Rom. Sculpt.* no. 127. *Anc. Marbles*, x. 43, 2. Clarac, iii. 396 D, 669 A.

<sup>4</sup> Zoega, pl. 8, 6; 7. 16, 9.

<sup>5</sup> S. Bartoli (Beger), *antike Lucerne*, ii. pl. 6; 8.

<sup>6</sup> I owe to Dr. Puchstein of Berlin

(a) the lion's head looking forward stretches out its tongue; the dog's head projecting from the right shoulder is looking down, the ears erected; the wolf's head, distinguished by a row of villous hair beneath the neck, with ears laid back, looks up. A second specimen (b), very similar, wreathed with snakes in complete harmony with Macrobius, is figured in the text in its actual size. Two other copies (c d) show the right head looking outwards horizontally (dog's head, ears erected), the left one looking up a little (wolf-like, ears reclining).

Notwithstanding these varieties of detail, it is clear that the original of all these statuettes exhibited differences in the three heads similar to those described by Macrobius, and that it is due only to the carelessness with which most of the marble statuettes of Sarapis are executed, that in these the said differences have been either totally or partially lost. This is the more probable as in the very rare statue of Hades in the Borghese Villa<sup>1</sup>, the middle head is lion-like, and the outer head which is alone visible (the head to the left being hidden in the drapery) is that of a greyhound looking up with ears laid back. This statue, the only large one of Hades we possess, is of high importance on account of the relation indicated in the literary tradition of the type of Hades or Pluto with that of Sarapis enthroned. The general composition is identical, only the heads are different, that of Hades showing morose features and a realistic conception similar to that of the Chiaramonti bust of Poseidon<sup>2</sup> and characteristic of the Hellenistic epoch, whereas the head of Sarapis, in accordance with the high position of the god in the belief of later generations, bears rather the character of a gloomy Zeus, a character however sometimes found in Hades himself in his more ideal representations.

and Prof. Gardner detailed notices as to the following examples:—

(a) Berlin, Antiquarium. H. 0.042 m. Friederichs, *Berl. ant. Bildw.* ii. no. 2304. S. Bartoli, *ant. luc.* ii. pl. 7 (reversed and too distinct in the forms). Rubbed.

(b) British Museum, Bronze Room. See woodcut, p. 293, original size.

(c) Berlin, Antiquarium. H. 0.054 m. Friederichs, ii. No. 2303. Of better work.

(d) British Museum, Bronze Room. I have little doubt that similar figures exist in many cabinets.

<sup>1</sup> Nibby, *Mon. scelti di Villa Borgh.* pl. 39. Braun, *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie*, pl. 22. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, ii. 67, 853.

<sup>2</sup> *Mus. Chiaramonti*, i. pl. 24. Pistolesi, *Vaticano*, iv. pl. 57. Braun, *Vorschule*, pl. 16. Müller-Wieseler, ii. 6, 67. Overbeck, *Atlas zur Kunstmyth.* pl. 11, 11; 12.

*Sarapis standing, first type: sceptre and altar.*—The representation of Sarapis enthroned on Alexandrian coins first appears in the thirteenth year of Nero (A.D. 67–68)<sup>1</sup>; it is a question whether any of the extant sculptural copies, the fine bronze statuette from Paramythia in the British Museum excepted<sup>2</sup>, be more ancient. Not much later occur the first types of a standing Sarapis. I have no detailed knowledge of a coin of Vespasian or Titus (A.D. 76 ?)<sup>3</sup>, but its type seems similar to that which first arises under Domitian, comes into vogue under Trajan, and has not yet quite disappeared under Hadrian. Sarapis stands in a temple, extending his right hand over an altar, and holding a long staff or sceptre in the left (Pl. E. 1)<sup>4</sup>. The temple or *ædicula* seems to indicate a certain statue copied on the coin<sup>5</sup>. It is but a slight variation if, instead of the altar, the infernal dog has his place under the hand of his master (Pl. E. 2)<sup>6</sup>; on the other hand, it is a development of the general idea if the god in his extended right holds a patera<sup>7</sup>. This last representation is not limited to Alexandria, but returns a little later on coins of several cities<sup>8</sup>, as well as, slightly modified, on engraved stones<sup>9</sup>. After all, this type is very similar to that of Sarapis enthroned, but that the god has risen from his seat. The altar occasionally occurs also near the throne, and so does the patera in the hand, of the sitting god. We may therefore regard this type as derived from the sitting type, and compare the relation

<sup>1</sup> Zoega, p. 27, 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Spec. of ant. sculpt.* i. pl. 63. Clarac, iii. 398, 670.

<sup>3</sup> Zoega, p. 49, 25.

<sup>4</sup> Zoega, p. 51, 12; 62, 76; 73, 90; 78, 133; 83, 144; 107, 78. Comp. p. 134, 335; 336. The same type on coins of Perinthos under Caracalla, *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 152, 38.

<sup>5</sup> Zoega, p. 78, supposes the Sarapeion to be meant, which no doubt contained more statues of the god than the one chief statue. Comp. Ammianus Marc. xxii. 12 *Scraperum...spirantibus signorum fragmentis...coronatum*.

<sup>6</sup> Zoega, p. 106, 63; 146, 380; 381, pl. 8, 6. Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* ii. *Myth.* 4, 29 (Hadrian).

<sup>7</sup> Zoega, p. 189, 226 (Anton. Pius);

the '*hircus ante pedes*' is no doubt the Kerberos. On a coin of Hadrian (Zoega, p. 113, 154) the attributes of the patera and a fawn (instead of the sceptre) are combined.

<sup>8</sup> With Kerberos in Pheneos (Plautilla, Mionnet, *suppl.* iv. p. 287, 86), in Nikopolis (Caracalla and Geta, *Br. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 46, 34); without him in Hermokapelia in Mysia (Mionnet, *descrip.* iv. p. 44, 232). Without the patera in Marcianopolis (Macrinus, *Br. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 32, 31).

<sup>9</sup> Tölken, *Verz. gesch. Steine in Berlin*, p. 20, no. 67, with the addition of attributes of Zeus, eagle and thunderbolt; no. 70 in Roman warrior's dress, with Kerberos near him.

between representations of Zeus or Asklepios enthroned with those of the same gods standing.

*Sarapis standing, second type: right hand raised and sceptre.*—

A second type, a very favourite one, particularly in later times, leaves the sceptre or long staff in the left, but shows the right arm raised so as to signify either benediction or *allocutio*. The first instance of Ἡλῖος Σάραπις thus represented occurs on an Alexandrian coin of the thirteenth year of Domitian (A.D. 93-94)<sup>1</sup>, in which however the god is clad in the mantle only, a dress rarer but noways unheard of<sup>2</sup>. In the usual full dress the same god appears on coins of Hadrian, either alone (Pl. E. 4)<sup>3</sup>, or within a temple, opposite the Emperor who extends his right hand over an altar inscribed ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ (Pl. E. 3)<sup>4</sup>. In the last mentioned coin, which belongs to the seventeenth year of the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 132-133), the action of Sarapis finds its easiest explanation as a gesture of blessing; one might suppose the coin to be connected with the revolt in Judæa<sup>5</sup>. In Alexandria itself this type of Sarapis, after having ceased for some time, reappears only under Severus Alexander and some later emperors<sup>6</sup>, but during the third century it is spread over large parts of the empire, especially under Caracalla (in the years A.D. 212-216)<sup>7</sup>, and under Gordianus<sup>8</sup>, finally under the last

<sup>1</sup> Zoega, p. 58, 117. Eckhel, *D.N.* iv. p. 31, thinks the raised right to be characteristic for the combination of Ἡλῖος Σάραπις.

<sup>2</sup> Zoega, p. 45, 55 (Vespasian); p. 232, 27, pl. 14, 7. Overbeck, *Kunst-myth.* ii. *Münch.* 4, 30 (Venus). One may compare the terra-cotta lamp, *Catal. Durand*, no. 1777. In the British Museum there is, according to a notice by Prof. Gardner, a small Zeus-like bronze figure, possibly of Sarapis, standing, clad in a himation only, which passes over his left shoulder and leaves most of the body bare; on his head is a circular modius bound with laurel; in the right hand which hangs down he holds a short staff (part of thunderbolt!).

<sup>3</sup> Zoega, p. 125, 236; 135, 337.

<sup>4</sup> Zoega, p. 134, 335; 336. pl. 7, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Dürer, *Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*,

Vienna 1881, p. 65; 72, makes the emperor leave Alexandria in the autumn of 131, and the revolt begin at the end of that, or the beginning of the next year. The type of the coin would have a more pregnant signification if we could refer it to a visit to Alexandria of the emperor in 132-3.

<sup>6</sup> Zoega, p. 269, 51 (Severus Alexander *Ἰ πέρυτον*; the same type with the date *Ἰ θβδμρον* is in the Imhoof collection); p. 296, 5 (Trebonianus); 325, 2 (Domitius Domitianus).

<sup>7</sup> Cohen, *méd. impér.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 165; 166; 169; 175; 180. *Br. M. Cat., Thrace*, p. 172, 11; 12 (Serdike); p. 120, 27 (Hadrianopolis).

<sup>8</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 52; 63; 120; 133. Mionnet, *suppl.* ii. p. 324. The same type returns under Macrinus, Elagabalus, Maximinus, Traianus, Decius and Hostilianus, Postumus.



zealous restorer of the worship of Sarapis, Julianus<sup>1</sup>. The type is especially a favourite in Thrace—as an instance we figure a coin of Hadrianopolis struck under Gordian III. (Pl. E. 5),—but it extends also over Asia Minor (Tieion in Bithynia, Mytilene, Perga, Olba), as far as Damaskos and the Samaritan Kaisareia.



BRONZE STATUETTE: FLORENCE.

It is also traceable on engraved gems<sup>2</sup>. The finest instance, however, is afforded by a good Roman bronze statuette, 0·29 m. high, of the Florentine Museum<sup>3</sup>, which at the same time proves that this type was not invented for the coins but goes back to a sculptural original. The statuette is of excellent preservation<sup>4</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Cohen, vi. p. 374, 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Impronte dell' Instituto*, v. 65 (*Bullett.* 1839, p. 105), with the inscription εἰς Ζεὺς Σάραπις. Berlin, no.

68 (Tölken).

<sup>3</sup> *R. Gal. di Firenze*, serie iv. vol. i. pl. 20. Clarac, iii. 399, 673.

<sup>4</sup> Director Milani of Florence has

both arms were broken but are certainly antique, and the movement of the right hand with opened palm and outstretched fingers serves again to confirm the signification of the action as that of blessing. The fingers of the left hand are so disposed as to be able to grasp a sceptre. Although there is no great invention in the figure—more especially the arrangement of the well-disposed himation is rather common—not unlike that of the youthful Asklepios from Kyrene at Edinburgh<sup>1</sup>,—still the walking movement gives a lively effect, which is strengthened by the slight turn of the head in the direction of the raised right arm. A modius ornamented with olive branches towers on the crown, from which the full hair hangs down, framing the countenance; the expression of the features is dignified but gloomy. Very similar in movement, dress, and expression is the appearance of the god in a votive relief of marble in the Museum of Turin<sup>2</sup>, unfortunately unpublished; his position on a peculiar base, within an *œdicula*, proves that we may here too assume a sculptural model. The only variation is that the left hand, hanging down, does not hold the sceptre, as in the coins, but a small box. We may compare the 'basket suspended by a cord' which Sarapis bears in his right hand on a coin of Perinthos, struck under Caracalla<sup>3</sup>, as also the pail held by the god on a Pompeian painting<sup>4</sup>. No doubt, these vessels must have had their fixed signification in the worship of Sarapis; the *situla* in the hand of the priestesses of Isis is well-known<sup>5</sup>.

*Sarapis standing, third type: left arm raised, right hanging down.*—This type, which is not to be found on coins, recurs in

had the kindness to examine the bronze closely. The arms are not modern, as Overbeck says (*Kunstmyth.* ii. p. 314), but only broken and replaced, the style as well as the quality of the bronze and its patina proving its antique origin. The left foot too is broken a little above the sandal. Two joints of the ring-finger of the right hand are broken and missing. The eyes are of silver, the pupils excavated.

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884, p. 157, no. 1. *Archæologia Scot.* iv. pl. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Dütschke, *ant. Bildwerke in Ober-*

*italien*, iv. p. 66, no. 102. Height 0.79 m.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 153, 39.

<sup>4</sup> Helbig, *Wandgemælde*, no. 80. See below, p. 308.

<sup>5</sup> Rare varieties show Sarapis holding in his hand either ears of corn (Cohen, *méd. impér.* IV<sup>2</sup>. p. 183, 381-383 [Caracalla]), or a fillet (bronze statnette at Stanmore Hill, *Anc. Marbles in Gr. Brit.* p. 660, no. 4), or a wreath (gems in Paris [Chabouillet, *cat. des méd.* no. 2026] and Vienna [Sacken and Kenner, *Samml. des Münz- u. Ant.-Cab.* p. 434, 285]).



BRONZE STATUETTE : DRESDEN.

some bronze statuettes<sup>1</sup>, far the best of which is the larger one in Dresden (*a*). Sarapis, in his usual dress, and with the modius on the head, raises the left arm so as to leave no doubt about its having originally grasped a sceptre; in *c* a small vestige of it has even been preserved. The arrangement of the himation corresponds with that movement of the arm. The right arm hangs down but, at least in *a b*, does not cling to the body, and, the beautiful head being turned the same way, seems to have held some attribute. In the better preserved though very poor copies *c d c*, however, the right arm hangs close to the body, without any attribute in the hand. In *c* the god is placed on a globe, a position by which he is characterised as the supreme lord of the world.

*Sarapis standing, fourth type: sceptre in right hand, left hanging down.*—A short mention suffices for a group of late coins of Alexandria in which Sarapis holds the sceptre in the right instead of the left hand, the left arm being enveloped in the cloak (Pl. E. 6 of Tranquillina)<sup>2</sup>.

*Sarapis standing, with cornucopiae.*—A fifth type of Sarapis standing, much rarer but also much more characteristic, is that with a cornucopiae. On the coins of Alexandria, clear instances of a cornucopiae in connection with Sarapis are found

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Director Treu of Dresden for the following details on the Dresden statuettes and for the photograph reproduced on p. 299:—

(*a*) Dresden. Hettner, *Bildw. der Kgl. Antikens.*, 4 ed., p. 50, no. 127. Good bronze, purporting to come from Alexandria; bought in Rome, 1877, from Martinetti. Eyes, lips, sandals of silver; further remains of silver may be hidden under the thick oxidation. H. 0.39 without the base, 0.465 including it. The base is old. The figure was broken at the feet, and so was the modius (ornamented with upright branches); both have been replaced. (See cut.)

(*b*) Dresden. Smaller bronze, h. 0.063. Bought 1885 from Dr. Dressel. The greater part of the arms and the feet is missing. The proportions are much more slender than in the larger

statuette.

(*c*) Berlin, Antiquarium. Friederichs, *Berlins ant. Bildw.* ii. no. 1863. H. 0.07.

(*d*) Berlin, Antiquarium. Friederichs, no. 1869; apparently from the same mould. H. 0.63.

(*e*) Arolsen. Gaedechens, *Antiken zu Arolsen*, p. 33, no. 29. Friederichs-Wolters, *Bausteine*, p. 694, no. 1769. H. 0.065.

<sup>2</sup> The latter circumstance is expressly mentioned in the description of the coins, Zoega, p. 264, 6 (Annia); 269, 50 (Sev. Alex.); 278, 15 (Maximinus); 287, 8, pl. 17, 13 (Tranquillina). Nothing is said of this detail in the coins of Gordianus III. no. 50; 59, Philippus, no. 15; 25a, Otacilia, no. 36; 96, Traianus Decius, no. 1, Volusianus, no. 4, Valerianus, no. 11, and in a gem at Paris (Chabouillet, no. 2026).

only on those coins where the head of the god is surrounded by the cornucopiae at the same time as with other attributes. Thus Sarapis appears, in almost identical representation, on coins of Hadrian<sup>1</sup>, of Antoninus Pius (Pl. E. 8)<sup>2</sup>, and of Philippus Arabs<sup>3</sup>, a true *Scrapis Pantheus*, as he is styled in a Spanish inscription<sup>4</sup>. On a coin of M. Aurelius the figure of the deity is accompanied by a serpent-entwined staff (Pl. E. 7). Modius, ram's horns, and rays indicate the combination of *Ἥλιος Σάραπισ* and *Ζεύς Ἀμμων*; the trident entwined by a dolphin points to Poseidon; the cornucopiae in this group of attributes is referred by Zoega<sup>5</sup> to the Nile. This conjecture, not unreasonable in itself, is less likely, inasmuch as the cornucopiae occurs not only on such pantheistic representations of Sarapis<sup>6</sup>. It is at least highly probable that the '*vir barbatus stans cum modio in capite, s. cornucopiae*,' who offers his hand to a female, wearing modius and holding cornucopiae, with an altar between them, on an Alexandrian coin of Trajan<sup>7</sup>, is none but Sarapis, in a group not unlike that of the Xanthian marble. In this instance, an identification of Sarapis with Nile would be much more unlikely; while it is entirely out of the question in the representations of the god with the cornucopiae on imperial coins of the neighbouring Thracian cities of Odessos and Dionysopolis. The series of the former town begins with Septimius Severus<sup>8</sup>, and goes on under Caracalla (Pl. E. 9)<sup>9</sup>, Elagabalus (Pl. E. 10), Severus Alexander, and Gordianus III.<sup>10</sup>; the same type occurs on the coins of Dionysopolis under Severus Alexander (Pl. E. 11)<sup>11</sup>. In all these coins the bearded god, clad in chiton and himation, with the modius on his head, stands, his weight resting on the left leg, the right gently bent; he turns half round to a lighted altar into the flames of which

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof, *Monnaies Grecques*, pl. J, 15, p. 458, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Zoega, p. 169, 56; 173, 97, pl. 10, 17. The coin, p. 197, 291, varies a little.

<sup>3</sup> Zoega, p. 289, 36 (without the Ammon's horns).

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. Lat.* ii. 46.

<sup>5</sup> P. 174, note.

<sup>6</sup> A similar coin is that of Ptolemais of the time of Septimius Severus, in de Sauley, *Numisma. de la Terre-Sainte*,

p. 161, no. 4, pl. 8, 8.

<sup>7</sup> Zoega, p. 83, 143 (Museo Tiepoli).

<sup>8</sup> Mionnet, *suppl.* ii. p. 353, 903; 904.

<sup>9</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 138, 13; 14.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 139, 15-18. Mionnet, *descr.* i. p. 396, 228. *Suppl.* ii. p. 357, 924; 925 (in the Imhoof collection).

<sup>11</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 24, 1.

he is pouring from a patera, whereas in the left arm he holds a large cornucopiae filled with fruits.

In the Catalogue of the British Museum the interpretation of this god of Odessos as Sarapis is qualified as doubtful. The reason is to be found no doubt in the ancient autonomous tetradrachms of Odessos (Pl. E. 12), which show in a beautiful type a very similar god, but without the modius and the altar; in the field ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΚΥΡΣΑ<sup>1</sup>. Hardouin's interpretation of the last word as κύρ(ιος) Σά(ραπ)ις, which might be supported by the occasional qualification of Sarapis as κύριος and as θεὸς μέγας or *deus magnus*, and which even gained the applause of Eckhel<sup>2</sup>, has lost every probability since L. Müller pointed out the same word as the beginning of a magistrate's name on coins of the very town of Odessos, with the types of Alexander the Great<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, Sarapis may be here meant; nor would the wanting modius be an insuperable obstacle, as precisely in the earliest, and eventually in some later representations, that god wears no modius<sup>4</sup>. Chronological reasons too are not contrary to the interpretation. According to Dr. Imhoof's judgment, the coin is not earlier than the end of the third century, perhaps rather later; Prof. Gardner would even assign it to the second quarter of the second century. There is no reason to doubt that at that epoch the worship of Sarapis might have found its way to the Thracian shores; and if so, the coin would be highly interesting as one of the oldest extant representations of that god in full length, standing, but without modius and sceptre, and, instead of the latter, bearing the cornucopiae. However, I cannot help thinking that this interpretation, though not impossible, is by no means certain. I shall not lay great stress on the style of the figure copied on the coin, which reminds me of statues like the Vatican 'Sardanapallos' and similar creations of the fourth

<sup>1</sup> Mionnet, *descr.* i. p. 395, 221. *Planches*, 69, 5. *Museum Pembrok.* ii. pl. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Doctr. numm.* ii. p. 37. Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* ii. p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Numism. d'Alexandre le Grand*, p. 172; 174 (indicated to me by Prof. Gardner). One may compare the name of the Bithynian town of Κυρσαῖρα

(Anon. *Peripl. Ponti Eux.* 12).

<sup>4</sup> See p. 291, notes 2 and 3, and comp. Wieseler, *über geschm. Steine*, ii. 1 (*Abh. d. Göt. Ges.* vol. xxxi.), p. 27, &c. The head on the obverse of this coin (Mionnet, pl. 69, 5. Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* ii. *Münzt.* 1, 19) has no attribute which would point to Sarapis.





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century, that is to say of an epoch in which a Greek Sarapis was not yet in existence. Of greater importance is the fact that on other autonomous coins of Odessos<sup>1</sup> apparently the same god with a cornucopiae is riding on horseback, a thing utterly unheard of in the case of Sarapis. This seems to point rather to some θεός ἐπιχώριος in Hellenized form, whose qualification of θεός μέγας may remind us of the title of the 'great gods' of Samothrake.

However this question may be settled, and even if the older coins of Odessos represent a local divinity, still the name of Sarapis seems nowadays excluded in the case of the imperial coins of Odessos, which are later by three or four centuries. The widely spread worship of the Alexandrine god precisely in the cities on the coast of Moesia and Thrace during the later imperial epoch, is abundantly shewn by the evidence of coins. Surely it is much less likely that beside this mighty conqueror of the world an old local god of similar features should have been preserved, than that the elder θεός μέγας should have given way to the new θεός μέγας or μέγιστος, and be absorbed as it were by the stronger nature of his successor. Now, has the Sarapis of the later coins inherited his cornucopiae from his predecessor? This would scarcely be the right interpretation; it is quite possible to prove that Sarapis is fully entitled by himself to bear that symbol.

Among the treasures of the Payne-Knight collection in the British Museum there is a silver statuette of Sarapis standing, 0·04 m. high, the only original mention of which is to be found in the letterpress to plate 63 of the *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*, vol. i. This mention is so short and indistinct that the statuette was universally thought to represent the god sitting, as does the bronze statuette engraved in that plate. It is the merit of Prof. Gardner to have drawn attention to this little jewel, and to have discovered from Payne-Knight's Catalogue that it also belongs to that famous find which took place

<sup>1</sup> Eckhel, *D. N.* ii. p. 37. Mionnet, *suppl.* ii. p. 350, 889; 890. The cornucopiae occurs also alone on autonomous coins of Odessos (Mionnet, no. 895); it is less significant to find the same symbol held by a river-god (Panyssos! Mionnet, no. 893; 894), the

cornucopiae being a common attribute of this class of divinities. Prof. Gardner however is inclined to find a material connection between this reclining figure and the standing god of the other coins.

at Paramythia about the year 1792<sup>1</sup>. It seems to be the only object of silver among a large number of bronzes; traces of gilding are still observable. We see Sarapis standing in a dignified position of repose. Long hair and long beard enhance this effect. A long and ample chiton with short sleeves falls down to the feet, and a large himation fastened on the left shoulder and going slantwise across the breast envelops the body in a double layer. The modius covers the head, the extended right hand holds a patera, in the left arm rests a large cornucopiae richly filled with fruits. No doubt this charming little statuette is no Roman work but, like all the rest



SILVER STATUETTE: BRIT. MUS.

of that celebrated find, belongs to the Hellenistic period, and is valuable also in this respect,—that it seems to be one of the oldest certain representations extant of Sarapis, older than any of the statues of the sitting god preserved to us, with the only exception of the bronze statuette found together with it. Already Payne-Knight in his manuscript notes drew attention to another monument which indeed offers the greatest resemblance to the statuette, a sardonyx of the Orleans Collection, now at St. Petersburg, of which several replicas are known<sup>2</sup>. Formerly it was referred to Juppiter Exsuper-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles in Gr. Brit.* p. 118; 119; 120, and the references given in note 313.

<sup>2</sup> Sardonyx: Petersburg, A 4, 6, 19. Causeus de la Chaussée, *Gemme ant.* pl. 126. Inghirami, *Mon. etr.* vi. pl. K, 1.

—Niccolo: Millin, *Pierres grav.* pl. 3. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* 2 ed., ii. 2, 28 (not in the third edition).—Vetro: Cadés, *Impronte gemm.* cl. i. A. 73.—Comp. Wieseler, *l.l.* Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1873, p. 150; 1877, p. 100.

antissimus, more recently it has been considered as Dionysos, Dionysos-Hades, or some pantheistic divinity. The long and full drapery, including the slanting arrangement of the himation, as well as the attributes are so completely in accordance with the statuette from Paramythia, that the signification of the figure as a Sarapis, which I had conjectured before knowing the statuette, now may pass as firmly established. The style has a smack of archaism, of which something appears also in the statuette, for instance, in the style of hair-dressing at the neck. The chief novelty of the gem consists in the butterfly hovering over the patera. Taking the insect as the image of



MARBLE STATUE: FROM MAFFEI.

the soul, the representation is as easily explained with regard to Sarapis as in any of the former interpretations, ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν ἔτι οὗτος ἄρχων ἀνθρώποις

μένει...σωτήρ αὐτὸς καὶ ψυχοπομπός, ἄγων εἰς φῶς καὶ πάλιν δεχόμενος, πανταχῇ πάντας περιέχων<sup>1</sup>.

Another instance of Sarapis with the cornucopiae is afforded by a marble statue, now lost sight of, which is known only by an engraving in Maffei's *Museum Veronense*<sup>2</sup>. The movement is similar to that in the Florentine bronze and in the later coins of Odessos. The god stands on the left leg, the right gently bent; the head, covered with the modius, turns a little to its right, in harmony with the right arm stretched forward: no doubt the lost hand once held a patera. The left arm is bent at a right angle; the engraving shews distinctly the remains of the cornucopiae. The drapery is nearly the same as in the Florence bronze; also the shortness of the chiton corresponds with it, in opposition to the more dignified χιτῶν ποδήρης of the coins, the silver statuette, &c.

Sarapis seems also to be distinguishable on two wall-paintings of Pompei<sup>3</sup>. The one (no. 80, *casa delle Ammazoni*), now destroyed, represented Harpokrates placed between Isis and 'a bearded male figure, with gold-coloured lotos above the forehead, with a pail in his right and a cornucopiae in the left hand.' Nothing is said about the dress. The 'lotos', instead of the modius, is known from the old Ptolemaic coins (see p. 291); the pail reminds us of the box and the basket held by the god in some later coins (see p. 298): these objects consequently are at least not inconsistent with the supposition of Sarapis. On the other picture (no. 79, house of Julia Felix), now in the museum at Naples, Isis enthroned is surrounded by Anubis and 'a much-injured figure, the sex of which cannot be distinctly made out, clad in long light-coloured tunica and dark upper-garment, resting the left hand on a staff, and holding in the right a cornucopiae from which projects a long branch'. Also one of the lateral walls of this little sanctuary contained 'a male figure, clad in a mantle, with a cornucopiae in both hands'. Probably these figures were meant to represent the same divinity which, in such a company, could scarcely be any one but Sarapis.

<sup>1</sup> Aristides, *or. in Sar.* p. 54 ed. Jebb.

<sup>2</sup> Pag. 75, 5. The letterpress contains not a word about the statue.

<sup>3</sup> Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, p. 26, no. 79; 80, both from private houses; comp. Lafaye, p. 326, no. 216; 217.

Finally we return to the god on the Xanthian relief with which we began. The long chiton has, an exceptional detail, no sleeves; the arrangement of the himation is simpler and poorer than on the other monuments; the rather stiff position wants that lively movement which is observable in the statues and on the coins. As, however, the left leg evidently was a little bent, the impression of stiffness may to a certain degree be due to the awkwardness of the Lycian copier. A very small modius of unusual shape rests on the god's head, the hair hangs deeply down on to the nape of the neck. The extended right hand retains a battered fragment of the patera it once held. In the left arm rests the huge cornucopias, the upper half of which is striated like the cornucopias on the coins of certain Ptolemies, particularly of Arsinoë Philadelphos<sup>1</sup>. Here, too, a bunch of grapes hangs down, and other fruits fill up the horn; but quite singular is the addition of two bull's horns. Evidently they contain an allusion to Apis, whose essence and name had been incorporated by Sar-apis. I do not find any other monumental analogy, except the doubtful one of a coin struck in the Hypselite nome in the eleventh year of Hadrian (Pl. E. 13), on which a deity, with a lotos on his head (Sarapis? Osiris?), holding a staff in the left, bears an Apis on his right hand<sup>2</sup>. The more interesting is our marble, especially as what has been said at the beginning leaves no doubt that we have not to deal with the arbitrary device of a Lycian statuary mason, but that our relief is the exact copy of a statue.

*Origin of Sarapis' cornucopias.*—The horns of Apis in the cornucopias, and the butterfly of the Petersburg sardonix point to the region in which we have to search the explanation of the cornucopias as a symbol of Sarapis. Among the gods of the Greek religion, two are nearest to him in external appearance, the Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων and Pluto, the genuine Attic euphemistic substitute for sullen Hades, a friendly god to whose images ἔπεστιν οὐδὲν φοβερὸν<sup>3</sup>. They are so similar to one another that in many instances it is difficult to make out which of the two is meant. An *Agathos Daimon*, with his name appended, occurs on an Athenian votive relief<sup>4</sup>, with long hair, bearded,

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat., Ptolemies*, pl. 8.

porary coins of Diospolis, *ib.* p. 125, 231.

<sup>2</sup> Zoega, p. 124, 225 Ὁσίου(τῶν).

<sup>3</sup> Paus. i. 28, 6.

A similar Osiris occurs on the contem-

<sup>4</sup> Schoene, *greek. Reliefs*, pl. 26.

clad in a long chiton and a himation, holding in both hands a large cornucopiae. He appears again with cornucopiae and patera on a votive relief from Megara, now at Berlin<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, Pluto is represented on Attic vases as bearing a cornucopiae<sup>2</sup>, occasionally also a sceptre<sup>3</sup>; other Attic or neo-Attic works give him the same attributes but limit his drapery to the himation alone<sup>4</sup>. Doubtful is the decision as to some other monuments, a vase from Nola which shows the god white-haired and fully draped, with sceptre and cornucopiae, in company with the Eleusinian divinities<sup>5</sup>, an Attic relief in the British Museum<sup>6</sup>, and a statue apparently very similar in Cataio<sup>7</sup>; in both of them the god, fully draped, bears in the left arm a large cornucopiae, the right, which hangs down, being broken. The similar appearance of the two gods is not due to chance, as Agathodaemon, the *Bonus Eventus* of the Romans, masters the riches of the earth and its abundant produce in nearly the same way as the Attic Πλούτων, φερέσβιος, πλουτοδότης, Εύβουλεύς, the companion of Demeter, and partaker of the Eleusinian worship<sup>8</sup>. Now, asking from which of the two the standing Sarapis may have borrowed his external characteristics, and especially his cornucopiae, it appears more natural to suppose that, as Sarapis enthroned is but a variation of Hades, so Sarapis standing stands in similar relation to Pluto, with whom he is also substantially connected. This supposition is supported by those Alexandrian coins of *Sarapis pantheus* of which we spoke on p. 301. By the side of the symbols of Zeus and Poseidon, the cornucopiae no doubt represents the third son of Kronos. In a similar way on an archaistic relief<sup>9</sup>, the

109. A youthful representation of the same god appears on a Cyrenaean relief at Edinburgh (*Anc. Marbles*, p. 238, no. 3. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884, p. 157).

<sup>1</sup> Berlin, no. 679. Wieseler, *Abh. der Gött. Ges.* vol. xx. Furtwängler, *Samml. Sabouroff*, pl. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Ined. d. Inst.* vi. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Naples, no. 3091 (Hoydemann). Förster, *Raub der Persephone*, pl. 2. Overbeck, *Atlas z. Kunstmyth.* pl. 18, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Vase in the Brit. Museum, no. 811. *Mon. Ined. dell' Inst.* v. 49: cornucopiae. Reliefs in Pal. Albani (Matz-

Duhn, no. 3494. Zoega, *Dassir.* i. 1. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* ii. 7, 76), and in the Lateran Museum (no. 460. Benndorf and Schoene, pl. 14, comp. Matz-Duhn, iii. p. 16): sceptre and cornucopiae.

<sup>5</sup> *Mon. Ined. d. Inst.* i. 4. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* ii. 9, 110, with Wieseler's remarks.

<sup>6</sup> *Anc. Marbles Brit. Mus.* xi. 47, 'Plutus and Fortune.'

<sup>7</sup> Dütschke, *ant. Bildw. in Oberitalien*, v. no. 102.

<sup>8</sup> Foucart, *Bull. Hellén.* 1883, p. 387.

<sup>9</sup> *Bull. d. Inst.* 1861, p. 86.

triple Zeus is endowed with thunderbolt trident and cornucopiae. The latter symbol has the same meaning with Sarapis as with the Attic Pluto, and is just as characteristic for the donor of blessing represented in these standing figures, as Kerberos is for the enthroned master of the shadows.

To sum up: the Hellenistic epoch produced two artistic types of the Graeco-Egyptian Sarapis. The enthroned god, derived from the Greek Hades, and accompanied by the hell-hound, was the truer representative of the old Egyptian Osiris-Apis, and by his dignified appearance was best fit to become the standard image of the new master of the world. Beside him, the Attic substitute for Hades, Pluto, became the prototype of Sarapis standing, a milder god whose cornucopiae promised all kinds of bliss and happiness to his adorers. The seated Sarapis, fixed in his external features by the statue of the chief Alexandrian temple, has remained almost unaltered through all antiquity. The standing god in his first artistic incarnation did not meet with the same favour but had in later times to undergo various changes. One of these, our first type, was little else but an attempt to transform the sitting god into a standing position. Another variation, our second type, replaced the cornucopiae of the original standing type by the action of blessing. The third type, finally, gave more prominence to the sceptre as to the most characteristic symbol of power and dominion and, occasionally, strengthened this idea by placing the god on a globe. On the whole, Sarapis standing has shown a greater vitality and faculty of development than the enthroned god, and the various forms under which he appears are a proof that in Roman times this more agile and versatile type better answered the need of his believers to represent their god as at once a benevolent and an omnipotent lord of the universe.

*Tyche*.—Sarapis is accompanied on our relief by a goddess of similar appearance, in which it is easy to recognise Tyche by the mural crown, the large cornucopiae, and the rudder. To be sure, one would rather expect to find Sarapis united with Isis, but all those peculiarities in dress and attributes which are characteristic for that goddess are here wanting. It is well known, however, that Isis and Tyche stand in close relation to one another, and that Isis-Tyche is one of the frequent figures of the late theocracy. Quite recently excavations on the Esquiline

have brought to light a lararium, the main figure of which is a statue of Fortune with the head-ornament of Isis; among the other sculptural decorations of the small sanctuary are a marble statuette of Sarapis enthroned, and a bust, life-size, of the same god<sup>1</sup>. Precisely that close relation between the two goddesses may explain the fact that Tyche has taken the place of Isis. Indeed Sarapis and Tyche are occasionally found combined on imperial coins of Alexandria. Such a coin of Trajan has already been dealt with on p. 301. Coins of Antoninus Pius show Sarapis sitting on a ship, between the standing figures of Demeter and Tyche (Pl. E. 14)<sup>2</sup>. The same two goddesses (Tyche, at least, is distinctly characterised by the rudder and the cornucopiae) surround the enthroned god on coins of M. Aurelius, Faustina, his wife, and Aelius Verus<sup>3</sup>, the standing god on coins of Commodus<sup>4</sup>. It is less certain whether the female characterised only by a cornucopiae who is about to crown Sarapis, on coins of Verus<sup>5</sup>, means Tyche, as that symbol is associated with too many goddesses to allow a positive decision. At any rate, the union of the Graeco-Egyptian Sarapis and the common-Greek Tyche is highly characteristic for a later epoch in which precisely these two divinities occupied an exceptionally high place in the religious belief of departing paganism.

The most striking feature of the Tyche of our relief is the very simple drapery. The Attic chiton without sleeves falls down to the feet ungirdled, covered in its upper portion by a short upper garment equally ungirdled (*ἀπόπτυγμα*)<sup>6</sup>. Usually Tyche appears in full dress, in girt chiton and mantle, more matron-like in her whole character. The dress as above described is rather that of Artemis and other virgins. However some similar instances can be adduced. I do not quote a bronze statuette of Naples in a similar attire, as the want of all attributes and the original presence of wings suggest rather Nike than Tyche<sup>7</sup>. A certain Tyche is afforded by a marble statue at

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. comun. di Roma*, 1885, pl. 2, 3; for more instances see C. L. Visconti, *ibid.* p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Zoega, p. 163, 3; 4.

<sup>3</sup> Zoega, p. 218, 67; 226, 4; 230, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Zoega, p. 244, 86.

<sup>5</sup> Zoega, p. 232, 27, pl. 14, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Bochlau, *quaestiones de re vestiaria Graecorum*, Weimar 1884, p. 17; 55.

<sup>7</sup> *Antich. di Ercol.* vi. 24. *Museo Borbon.* iii. 26. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* ii. 73, 926, with Wieseler's letterpress.



Madrid<sup>1</sup>, with rudder and cornucopiae, in chiton ungirded but for a belt going slantwise over the breast crossing the upper-garment. This arrangement is especially customary in statues of Artemis; nay, some scholars incline to refer all similar statues to this goddess and consider other attributions as a result of false restorations<sup>2</sup>. Wrongly; a statue of this kind in the British Museum<sup>3</sup> clearly proves, by a head wreathed with ivy, and the panther at her feet, that the figure belongs to the Bacchic cycle, and in the Madrid statue there remains enough of the original attributes to establish the signification as Tyche. One might consequently raise the question whether some of the other replicas<sup>4</sup> would be more correctly restored as Tyche, but it would lead us too far out of our way to follow this line. I shall rather direct attention to an Athenian tetradrachm with the names of the magistrates Eumeles and Kalliphen (Pl. E. 15)<sup>5</sup>, on which a goddess in similar attire (except the crossing belt) appears with a cornucopiae in her left, and a patera in her right hand. Evidently the coin reproduces a well-known statue. The excellence of the above mentioned statuary type made Brunn think of Praxitelean art<sup>6</sup>. Perhaps the coin may represent the 'Αγαθή Τύχη of that artist<sup>7</sup>. Still closer is the relation to the coin and to our relief in two statues at Stockholm<sup>8</sup> and at Dresden<sup>9</sup>. Both shew the same simple dress, both have the arms hanging down so as to be able to receive the same attributes, both exhibit the same vertical row of folds hanging down between the legs, a favourite arrangement in works of the later Hellenistic and of Roman art, for instance on many

<sup>1</sup> Huebner, *ant. Bildw. in Madrid*, no. 33. Clarac, iii. 410 H, 837 H.

<sup>2</sup> See Lützow, *Münchener Antiken*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Græco-Roman Sculpt. no. 198. *Anc. Marbles*, x. 28. Clarac, iv. 696 B, 1621 A. Ellis, Townley Gallery, i. p. 215. Vaux, *Handbook*, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> Clarac, iii. 452, 826 (Torlonia); 463, 883 (Chiaramonti); 471, 899 (Vescovali). The signification as an Artemis seems fully established by a hole destined for the quiver in the excellent Braschi statue at Munich, no. 113. Lützow, *Münchn. Ant.* pl. 7. Clarac, iv. 440, 790.

<sup>5</sup> Beulé, *monn. d'Athènes*, p. 295. To be sure, the specimen of the British Museum, reproduced on our plate, shews the chiton girt, deviating in this detail from Beulé's engraving.

<sup>6</sup> *Glyptothek*, no. 113.

<sup>7</sup> Plin. xxxvi. 23. On the relief in Schoene, *griech. Reliefs*, pl. 26, 109, Agathe Tyche is a veiled female of matronly appearance.

<sup>8</sup> Clarac, iii. 420 B, 719 B. Heydemann, *arch. Zeit.* 1865, p. 152\*, no. 13. Wieseler, *Philologus*, xxvii. p. 221.

<sup>9</sup> No. 221 (Hettner). Clarac, iii. 438 C; 757 A.

sepulchral reliefs from Rheneia, and on Archelaos' so-called Apotheosis of Homer. At any rate the Tyche of our relief is interesting as affording a certain instance of this goddess in youthful form at a time when the powerful governess of human fate was usually represented in matronly dignity.

#### BACK OF THE MARBLE.

*Description.*—In strict contrast to the architectural shrine surrounding the two divinities, the back of the marble, of rather rough execution, is entirely occupied by rocks which extend to the very margin of the block. Unfortunately the lower part is disfigured by a considerable gap. The whole relief offers the image of a cave, so as to remind one at the first glance of the well-known Mithraic reliefs. From the left there approaches through a kind of entrance a bearded archer in oriental costume, raising his arrow. Immediately before him we observe the remains of a great dog rapidly descending. Above the bowman appears on the edge of the projecting rock a jackal rather than a fox; above the cave there is a locust and a great lizard; at the right upper angle an indistinct object which I once took to be a snail without a shell, but which, as Prof. Gardner maintains, is rather a cicada, like those which appear on coins of Athens. On the right side the rocky edge of the cave occupies the whole margin. To the left of it, within the cave, again appear animals, at the top in a special recess a bear (not a boar) rushing forth, one half of him being visible; beneath a stork, on a rock, under which a fragment of a bird apparently aquatic is preserved; at the bottom the hind quarters of a bull rushing forward with the tail twisted and raised.

No word is required to prove that there cannot here be question of a common chase. Few of these animals would be a suitable mark for the archer's arrows. On the contrary the attention of the man and the animals is equally directed towards the centre, and there can scarcely exist any doubt that their combined attack is aimed at a huge high object in the midst of the relief, the upper end of which, close to the ceiling of the cave, is still recognizable, whereas the lower portion is lost in the great gap. The direction of the

dog, and still more the attack of the bull, prove that that object once reached down to the bottom of the cave. We may conjecture that beneath the archer, opposite the bull, another adversary originally had a place. It is decidedly remarkable that, in opposition to the good preservation of the figures around, the attacked object itself is entirely destroyed. Except a small part at the top where the relief is preserved, we can only trace the outline; the main part of the object, which was probably represented in as high a relief as the depth of the cave allowed, has totally disappeared. The examination of the original marble serves to strengthen the impression caused by the photograph that the object has been destroyed intentionally. This fact cannot be without importance in exploring its meaning.

*Prophylactic destination.*—Every reader, I suppose, will at once remember a class of reliefs, as the most prominent example of which I may cite a small marble slab at Woburn Abbey, rightly explained by J. Millingen, and afterwards made the starting point of a suggestive inquiry on the superstition of the evil eye by Otto Jahn<sup>1</sup>. The centre of that relief is occupied by a large eye; the brow forms as it were a rocky hill, and a stony ground is indicated also elsewhere. From all directions the evil eye is attacked, at the bottom by a lion, a serpent, a scorpion, a crane or stork, a raven; on the brow a sitting man, with Phrygian cap, by an unmistakeable gesture expresses his contempt for the evil eye, which a gladiator is attacking from the right with a trident. The upper left angle is wanting, but it may be supplied by the aid of a small, round lamina of gold found at Mayence in 1862, and acquired by Count M. de Robiano in Brussels<sup>2</sup>. The menagerie hero consists of a caterpillar, a swan, a tortoise, a crane or stork, a cicada (?), a dog or similar animal, a lizard, a snake; the man at the top sits with extended arms, and wears no Phrygian cap;

<sup>1</sup> Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles*, p. 731, no. 99. *Woburn Abbey Marbles*, pl. 14. Millingen in *Archæologia*, xix. p. 70. O. Jahn in *Berichte d. Sächs. Ges.* 1855, p. 28-110.

<sup>2</sup> The owner, passing from Mayence to Brussels, showed it to Jahn in Bonn, where I had an opportunity of examin-

ing and slightly sketching it; comp. *arch. Zeitung*, 1874, p. 69. The very thin lamina has a diameter of 0·08 m., and is provided with a short chain, evidently on account of its serving as an *apotropaion*. The representation is encircled with a row of beads.

opposite the *retiarius* with his trident a second gladiator (*secutor*<sup>1</sup>) is at work, armed with a large square shield and a sword. Other instances of the evil eye surrounded and attacked by various animals, with which sometimes is joined a phallus, may be found on Jahn's third plate<sup>2</sup>. The meaning of these compositions is clear. The hostile power of the *malocchio* is to be broken by the united attack of the animals, or of the men and the animals, to which a prophylactic force is assigned. The same idea is but slightly varied when such animals (scorpion, snail, frog), together with a phallus encircle the opening of a terracotta lamp<sup>3</sup>, in order to protect it from any evil influence and to assure harmless burning to the flame.

In this direction we must search for the meaning of our relief too. The archer in oriental dress, on our marble of Asiatic origin, may appropriately be compared with the man with the Phrygian cap, and particularly with the gladiators, of the Italian monuments. Among the animals, the dog<sup>4</sup>, the cicada<sup>5</sup>, the lizard<sup>6</sup>, the locust<sup>7</sup>, the stork or crane<sup>8</sup>, the other bird<sup>9</sup>, are sufficiently known by other representations as creatures to which a prophylactic power was ascribed. As to the jackal, the bear, the bull, I have no adequate examples to cite; the bull's head however is frequently used as *apotropaion*<sup>10</sup>. On the whole, the accordance is great enough to permit us to take the prophylactic meaning of the secondary figures of our relief for granted.

*Fascinum*.—Who, then, is the enemy at whom the attack is aimed? Certainly not the evil eye. Unless I am quite mistaken the outlines and the preserved top lead us to recognise nothing else but a phallus or *fascinum* as represented. First of all, this would best explain the thoroughness with which the scandalous object, and this alone, has been destroyed. We may call to mind the similar *scalpellata* with which the filthy demon Tychon

<sup>1</sup> P. J. Meier, *de gladiatura Romana*, Bonn 1881, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Jahn, pl. 4, 1 (Berlin). A nearly identical lamp is in the British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Jahn, p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Jahn, p. 36. Stephani, *C.R.* 1865, p. 84; 1869, p. 130; 1880, p. 98.

<sup>6</sup> Jahn, p. 99; 106. Dillthey *Archaeol.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, 1878, p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> Jahn, p. 36.

<sup>8</sup> Woburn Abbey relief. Stephani, *C.R.* 1865, p. 107. See below.

<sup>9</sup> Many birds on similar monuments, comp. Jahn, p. 96.

<sup>10</sup> Jahn, p. 58.

on a relief of Aquileia has been taught decency by its pious owner<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, *fascina* of similar dimensions occur even in the round. They commonly sit on lion's or hare's legs, and are provided with an animal's tail, the whole figure giving the impression of an animal sitting upright. The most famous instance is the marble phallus of the Florentine Museum which measures not less than 1.36 m., and is decorated with a collar of various prophylactical symbols or *περιάμματα*<sup>2</sup>. A similar one of marble, but of more modest dimensions (0.36 m.), embellished by a bearded human head of dignified expression, is preserved in the Museum at Tarragona<sup>3</sup>. A third example of simpler appearance is among the Dal Pozzo drawings in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle<sup>4</sup>. The proportions of the extant remains on the Xanthian relief are such as to allow a restoration according to these models; the feet and the lower portions of the sitting monster would have been at the bottom of the cave, on the level of the bull and its lost counterpart.

The phallus, as is well known, was considered by the ancients as one of the most effective expedients against every influence of envy, the evil eye and similar magical spells. Therefore it was so much used to protect walls and buildings of every description; our relief too seems to have belonged to some edifice. The peculiar feature of our instance consists in the circumstance that here the *fascinum* is attacked by such animals as share with it prophylactic qualities, whereas otherwise they are used to attack noxious objects like the evil eye. This objection however is not sufficient to disprove the supposition that a *fascinum* is really in question. There are a few instances which can appropriately be compared. Among the phallic reliefs of the amphitheatre at Nîmes there is one on which a strangely shaped phallus is pecked at by birds<sup>5</sup>; and a bronze of the *Cabinet des*

<sup>1</sup> Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* ii. 73, 936; comp. Bertoli, *antich. di Aquileia*, p. 33.—I must not omit to state that some London friends, examining the marble, entertained some doubts about the justice of my supposition. The reader may judge himself from the photograph, and from what I have to observe on the matter.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1843, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Not in the catalogue of Huebner, who sent a drawing to O. Jahn.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles in Gr. Brit.* p. 719, vol. xiii. (*Disegni di varie antichità, N° 110*), fol. 142, no. 608. For more instances see Jahn, p. 74, note 181; p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> Maucombe, *hist. abr. de la ville de Nîmes* (or *Guide des voy. à Nîmes*), ii. pl. 7, 20.

*Antiques* at Paris shews a stork biting vigorously at a phallus<sup>1</sup>, a representation which may be compared with the stork on our marble attacking the adversary with his beak widely opened. The action of attacking being expressed in the archer as well as in the animals with too great preciseness for us to take them barely as strengthening the prophylactic power of the main symbol, nothing is left to us but to suppose that in these combinations the *fascinum* itself was considered as being a dangerous evil-menacing adversary. For the phallus attacked and, as it were, brought into check by its prophylactic adversaries cannot be essentially different from the evil eye surrounded and menaced by foes of the same kind. The reason of this double employment of the phallic symbol is obvious. No prophylactic symbol can exercise its power of averting evil without defeating, or at least paralysing, every evil-menacing adversary. Thus the Medusa's head, as is well known, possesses the power of petrifying whatever it looks at; precisely on this account there is scarcely a more effective and more favourite means of protecting objects from envy and all other noxious influences than by affixing to them the Γοργεῖν κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου. Likewise the *malocchio* not only brings harm, but the image of the eye has also the power of paralysing the pernicious effects of the βάσκανοι or *jettatori*. The same will be the case with the phallus. This, too, cannot be prophylactic without itself bringing evil to its adversaries, and therefore it is that it can become the object of the combined attack of other prophylactic animals. Indeed, the word *fascinum* mostly signifies, like βασκάνιον, προβασκάνιον, the means of preventing any kind of spell and enchantment, but βασκαίνειν, *fascinare*, signifies to bewitch, and *fascinum* itself means also spell and bewitchment. There may have been a double range of ideas in the mind of those who employed such symbols: to whomsoever is envious or malevolent towards me, I shall oppose the evil eye or the phallus, and against whomsoever is menacing me with those symbols, I shall direct a host of demoniac powers, in order to paralyse his hostile attack. Among the monuments preserved to us there are many which illustrate the double employment of the evil eye; phallic symbols are usually employed in the former sense. It is not the least interesting

<sup>1</sup> Bachofen, *Mutterrecht*, pl. 9, 3.

feature of our relief to afford a new document of the other rather rare method of employing that symbol.—

*Connection between front and back.*—Finally the combination of this superstitious representation with the divinities figured on the front requires an explanation. On a travertine slab let into the wall over a baker's oven at Pompeii, a phallus is painted in the midst of the inscription *hic habitat Felicitas*<sup>1</sup>. Thus in our relief, to the powerful masters of the world and of human fortune, who procure for mankind with their cornucopiae plenty of bliss and riches, a representation is added which is intended to protect this good luck from pernicious influences. *Nullo fascino felicitas publica mordeatur*, says Symmachus in a letter to Ausonius<sup>2</sup>. The same idea which is here as it were divided into two parts appears undivided in a strange figure on a rare silver coin of Tarentum<sup>3</sup>, a small, paunchy, phallic, Pan-like daemon, crouching and holding in his hands patera and cornucopiae. But there is also another point of view from which the relation between front and back may be looked at. Superstitious imaginations followed a natural tendency towards various kinds of foreign worship, and among these alien θεοὶ ἀλεξίκακοι not the last place is due to Sarapis<sup>4</sup>. This god directed the sick people to Vespasian, when in Alexandria, that he might render sight to the blind, and restore the use of his legs to the lame<sup>5</sup>. Sarapis appears, now in full length, now as a bust, on those feet of marble or bronze which refer to happy return from wandering<sup>6</sup>; Sarapis recurs on those votive hands of bronze, the figurative ornaments of which are so closely connected with the superstitious ideas above discussed<sup>7</sup>. Νικᾶ ὁ Σάραπις τὸν φθόνον is the inscription

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. Lat.* iv. 1454. Gell and Gandy, *Pompeiana*, pl. 33. *Cub. secret de Naples*, pl. 9, 2. Arditì, *il fascino*, Naples 1825.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist.* i. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin, see Jahn, pl. 4, 13; p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Jahn, p. 46; 101.—I omit intentionally to mention the phallophories frequent as well in ancient Egyptian reliefs, as in the gorgeous processions at the court of the Ptolemies (Athen. v. 33, p. 201 E). As far as I can understand, in all these instances, the

phallus is not used in a prophylactic sense, but as a symbol of generation and fertility.

<sup>5</sup> Tac. *hist.* iv. 83. Suet. *Vespas.* 7.

<sup>6</sup> Jahn, p. 103. The costume seems to have originated in Egypt; comp. the Alexandrian coin of Commodus, Zoega, pl. 14, 17.

<sup>7</sup> Jahn, p. 101. Berlin: Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.* ii. pl. 137, 1. Jahn, pl. 4, 2.—Rome, *Mus. Kircher.*: Bonanni, *Mus. Kircher.* cl ii. 25, p. 83. Montfaucon, ii. pl. 137, 3.—On the foreign,

of an engraved onyx, the obverse of which shews the image of that god<sup>1</sup>. What could be more natural than to combine on the same marble Sarapis and the *βασκάνιον* of the phallus surrounded by its enemies? The whole idea of the composition might be summed up in the words of an inscription<sup>2</sup>:

*εἰς Ζεὺς Σέραπιδος· βασκάνος λακησέτω.*

AD. MICHAELIS.

STRASSBURG.

perhaps Egyptian, origin of these votive hands comp. Dillthey *archaeol.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterrreich*, 1878, p. 59.

<sup>1</sup> Gori, *inscr. Etr.* i. p. lxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Fabretti, *inscr. ant.* p. 408, no. 104. *C. I. Gr.* 8515.



## THE HOMERIC LAND SYSTEM.

THE object of the following pages, the substance of which was read before the Cambridge Branch of the Hellenic Society in 1883, is to examine into the true nature of the land-system of the Greeks of the Homeric age by means of the evidence contained in the poems themselves.

On *à priori* grounds we might have expected, or at least should not be surprised, to find in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* some traces of that primitive system known as the 'Open-Field' or 'Common-Field' system of agriculture, which the researches of recent years have proved to have once prevailed over a great part of the earth, and of which many survivals still exist.

Such an assumption with regard to the Greeks derives further support from the words of Aristotle (*Pol.* i. 1), where he describes the evolution of the πόλις from the οἰκία through the medium of the κώμη, and by the terms ὁμοσίπνοι and ὁμόκαποι (= ὁμόκηποι) quoted from Charondas and Epimenides respectively, seems to indicate the existence in Hellas at some time or other of what are now known as House Communities. From another passage (*Pol.* ii. 4, 1263a, 4), it is almost certain that nowhere amongst the Hellenes of his own day did he find any such forms of community: for when he makes mention of such customs of cultivation in common, he ascribes them to ἓνα τῶν ἐθνῶν and τινὲς τῶν βαρβάρων. If such village or house communities were known to Charondas and Epimenides, there is an *à fortiori* probability of the prevalence of such in still earlier times.

Let us now proceed with the positive evidence of the poems.

That such things as common fields existed, seems proved by a noteworthy passage in the *Iliad*—

ἀλλ' ὥστ' ἀμφ' οὔροισι δὺ' ἀνέρε δηριάσθων  
μέτρ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες, ἐπιξύνῳ ἐν ἀρούρῃ,  
ὥτ' ὀλίγῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ ἐρίζητον περὶ ἴσης,  
ὥς ἄρα τοὺς διέεργον ἐπ' αὐλξίες, κ.τ.λ. (xii. 421–24.)

The words ἐπιξύνῳ ἐν ἀρούρῃ would of themselves offer some proof of the institution of common fields, even if no further evidence could be adduced. Before proceeding any further, the word οὔροισι opens up a question of considerable importance. On turning to Ebeling's *Lexicon*, under the word οὔρον we find references to three well-known passages :

(1) *Il.* x. 351, *seqq.*—

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἀπέην ὄσσον τ' ἐπὶ οὔρα πέλονται  
ἡμιόνων—αἱ γάρ τε βοῶν προφερέστεραι εἰσιν  
ἐλκέμεναι νειοῖο βαθείης πηκτὸν ἄροτρον—  
τῷ μὲν ἐπεδραμέτην, κ.τ.λ.

(2) *Od.* viii. 134–35—

ὄσσον τ' ἐν νειῷ οὔρον πέλει ἡμιονοῖν,  
τόσσον ὑπεκπροθέων λαοὺς ἴκεθ', οἱ δ' ἐλπίοντο.

(3) *Il.* xxiii. 421–23—

ὄσσα δὲ δίσκου οὔρα κατωμαδίῳ πέλονται,  
ὄντ' αἰζυγὸς ἀφήκεν ἀνὴρ, πειρώμενος ἥβης,  
τόσσον ἐπεδραμέτην.

(With the last passage quoted we may compare *Iliad* xxiii. 523—

ἀτὰρ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἐς δίσκουρα λέλειπτο.)

Now in *Iliad* xxi. 403, *seqq.* we read how Athene in her combat with Ares—

ἀναχασσαμένη λίθον εἴλετο χειρὶ παχείῃ  
κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ μέλανα, τρηχύν τε μέγαν τε  
τόν ῥ' ἄνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἔμμεναι οὔρον ἀρούρης.

The Lexicographers take this οὔρον ἀρούρης, and linking it with οὔροισι in the passage from which we started, thrust them under the head of οὔρος = Ionic form of ὄρος, a boundary, of which, however, no other instances are given from Homer.

Yet why need we sever these two words from the neuter *οὔρον* and place them in a separate category? Why may not the neuter form *οὔρον* have been used in the poems, corresponding to the masculine *οὔρος* found in Herodotus, *ὄρος* in Attic, and *ὄρος* (with *ἄντορος*, *μέσσορος*) found in the Heracleian inscriptions? Similar parallel forms are to be seen in the case of *στάδια* and *στάδιοι*, the latter of which implies a singular masculine, *στάδιος*, which are used indifferently by Herodotus. It is also worth noticing that Apollonius Rhodius (ii. 795) uses *οὔρα* simply in the general sense of *boundaries*—*ὄφρ' ἐβάλοντο—οὔρα βαθυρρείοντος ὑφ' εἰαμεναῖς Ἑπίοιο*—just as in later Greek *ὄροι* is used in an extended sense, as well as in the special sense of *landmarks*.

This much, at all events, is certain, that *οὔρα ἡμιόνων*, *οὔρον ἀρούρης*, and the *οὔροις ἐπιξύνῳ ἐν ἀρούρῃ*, all relate to arable land. Here, then, comes the question, What are the *οὔρα ἡμιόνων*, which from *Il. x. 351*, evidently are greater than the *οὔρα* of oxen? In reference to this passage, Liddell and Scott say, 'whence the common explanation (derived from Aristarchus), viz. that the distance meant is that by which mules would distance oxen in ploughing a given space in the same time.' This explanation is got from the *Scholia ad locum*, which run as follows—

Ἀρίσταρχος οὕτως ἐξηγήσατο. ὅσον, φησὶν, ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ ὁμοῦ ὑπὸ τίνος ἀφεθέντος καὶ ἀπολυθέντος ζεύγους ἡμιόνων καὶ ζεύγους ἄλλου βοῶν φθάσωσι καὶ προλάβωσι τὰς βοῦς αἱ ἡμίονοι (ταχύτεραι γάρ εἰσι τῶν βοῶν), τοσοῦτον, φησὶν, ἔασαντες διάστημα παρελθεῖν τὸν Δόλωνα μεταστραφέντες ἐδίωξαν.

That this, when properly understood, contains the true meaning, I hope to prove. We can hardly allow that *οὔρα* can refer to a portion of a single *φυρτω*, although Scholl. AV *ad locum* say: *ἡλίκον ὄρμημα γίγνεται τῶν ἡμιόνων τεμνόντων αὐλακα. οὔρα τὰ ὄρια καὶ πέρατα τῆς αὐλακος, ἣν τὸ ὀρικὸν ζεῦγος τέμνει. ὅσον ἀροτριῶσα ἡμίονος ὑπὸ μίαν ὄρμην ὑπογράφειν δύναται, ὃ ἔστι πλέθρον.*

Next it is manifest from *Od. viii. 124*, that the *οὔρον ἡμιονοῦ* is an absolute, and not a relative measure, inasmuch as there is no mention of oxen in that passage. In reference to this point we ought to remark that the *Scholia* last cited tend in the same

direction, since in their several attempts at explanation no reference is made to oxen. Now can the *οὔρα* be the *πέρατα αὔλακος*, the *headlands*? Hardly so. For we have a distinctive term, *τέλσον ἀρούρης* (*Il.* xviii. 544), for those limits of the field at which lie the extremities of the furrows. Now as we have seen that *οὔρον ἀρούρης* (*Il.* *cc.*) must refer to certain boundaries, and as these boundaries cannot be the headlands or *ends* of the field, they must of necessity be the *sides*.

A simple explanation of *οὔρα* will now suggest itself. We have here an ancient unit of land measure, a day's ploughing of a yoke of oxen or a yoke of mules. We must bear in mind that the length of the furrow, that is, the length of the field, was fixed by local custom in primitive communities. A good example is our own word *furlong*, which varies in length in England and Ireland (Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, p. 4).

The length of the furrow or *furrow-long* probably depended on the distance which cattle could drag, and a man could steer, the plough without an 'easy,' and this in turn of course would depend on the nature of the soil. Mules, therefore, albeit more swift than oxen, would not plough a patch of land of greater *length* in one day than oxen; but inasmuch as the furrow-length was a standard fixed for oxen, as being the animals most commonly used for the plough, they would plough a patch of greater *breadth*. In other words, starting in the morning from one side (*οὔρον Α*) of the patch, the mules against they ploughed their last furrow (*οὔρον Β*) before unyoking in the evening (*βουλυτός*, with which cf. *τοῦ ζεύγους ἀπολυθέντος* of Aristarchus *supra*), would be further removed by many furrow-breadths from the side from which they had started, than a pair of oxen would be in case they had started from the same boundary at the same time, the swiftness of the mules having enabled them to cover more ground than the plodding oxen. The distance between the first and last furrows of a day's ploughing was termed *οὔρα*, just as the same word, as we have seen above, was applied to the distance traversed by the *δίσκος* from the hand of the thrower to the spot where it alighted. The *οὔρα*, then, in the Homeric fields, formed of stones, as we learn from *Il.* xxi. 405, served the same purpose as the *balks* of green turf in our English common fields (an example of which may still

be seen at Hildersham, near Cambridge). Such landmarks of stones are still used in Palestine, just as in ancient days, when the precept was given: 'Remove not the old landmark; and enter not into the fields of the fatherless' (Prov. xxiii. 10). No doubt boundary stones could be moved little by little without immediately exciting notice, in this respect being inferior to the continuous ridge of turf left permanently unploughed. The only way to detect fraud being to remeasure the patches, doubtless it is such a dispute as this, and such a resort to the measuring rod, which is pictured for us in the simile—

ὥστ' ἀμφ' οὐροισι δὺ' ἀνέρε δηριύασθον  
μέτρ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες, ἐπιζύνῃ ἐν ἀρούρῃ,  
ὥτ' ὀλίγῃ ἐνὶ χώρῳ ἐρίζητον περὶ ἴσης,  
ὥς ἄρα τοὺς διέεργον ἐπάλξεις· οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτέων  
δῆλουν ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι βοείας, κ.τ.λ.

The ἐπάλξεις, across which the warriors fight, are likened unto the οὐρα, on each side of which the wrangling neighbours stand. This passage likewise puts beyond doubt the fact that the term οὐρα (or οὔροι) was applied not simply to the boundaries of one large field, but to the marks which separated the several patches, probably all of equal size [cf. ἐρίζητον περὶ ἴσης] into which the ἐπίζυνος ἄρουρα was divided. Such an explanation of οὐρον enables us to see clearly the meaning of the famous lines uttered by Andromache in her lament over her fatherless boy—

αἰεὶ τοι τούτῳ γε πόνος καὶ κίδε' ὀπίσσω  
ἔσσοντ'· ἄλλοι γάρ οἱ ἀπονρίσσουσιν<sup>1</sup> ἀρούρας.

Il. xxii. 488–89.

Next comes the question, Do we find any definite surface measure in the poems? The answer to this is found by examining the two compound adjectives, πεντηκοντόγνος and τετράγνος, the former found in *Iliad* ix. 579 (τέμενος πεντηκοντόγνου), the latter in *Odyssey* vii. 113 (ὄρχατος τετράγνος) and (as a noun, τετράγνον) in *Odyssey* xviii. 374.

All scholars are familiar with Elmsley's remark that γύαι in

<sup>1</sup> There is also the var. lect. ἀπουρή-  
σουσιν. I follow the explanation of

Eustathius (1282, 15), Sch. B., who  
connect it with ἔρος and ἀφελίζω.

the Attic writers is always masculine, and therefore must come from a form γύης. Under γύης the Lexicons give two distinct words: (1) γύης = plough-stock, and (2) γύης = a measure of land. That the primitive Greek plough consisted of the γύης and nothing more, we learn from Hesiod's description (*Works*, 433) of the ἄροτρον αὐτόγυον, in which the ἔλυμα and ἰστοβοεὺς are all of one piece with the γύης, standing thus in contrast to the πηκτὸν ἄροτρον, formed of three separate pieces of wood. Such an implement (the most primitive of all forms, being simply a forked bough), according to Sir Charles Fellows (*Travels*, etc., p. 52, where he gives an engraving of one), is still used in Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the τέμενος πεντηκοντόγυον, we learn from *Schol. AD, E.M.*, 342, 23, that it was πεντήκοντα πλέθρων, οἱ δὲ πεντήκοντα ζευγῶν. Another *Scholium* says, γύης μέτρον γῆς μικρῷ τῶν δέκα ὀργυιῶν ἔλασσον. ἢ ζυγόν, ἢ πλέθρον, ἢ ἑκατον ποδῶν. παρ' ἐτέροις δὲ ἐξήκοντα πηχῶν. Hesychius explains πεντηκοντόγυον by πεντηκοντοπέλεθρον. Is it overbold to assume that γύης μέτρον γῆς is identical with γύης = a plough? In that case we have a primitive land measure of a common type, viz., as much ground as one plough can till in one day (cf. Caruca and Carucata). The term ζυγόν, Lat. iugum, iugerum, is only another way of expressing the same measure, i.e. as much ground as a pair of oxen can plough in one day. It was only natural that as γύης ceased gradually to represent the whole plough, and finally denoted only a limited portion of the improved implement, other terms should be employed for denoting the land unit. If this view is correct, the reason why γύαι is always masculine is obvious. According to the *Scholía* the γύης is variously set down as a little less than 10 fathoms (= 60 feet), or as a πλέθρον (= 100 feet), or as 60 cubits (= 90 feet). This diversity need not surprise us, when we recollect how greatly the Hide and Virgate varied in extent even in the same counties in England. So likewise the Roman

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bent, in his most interesting book, *The Cyclades*, p. 97, gives the following account of a plough which he saw in the island of Anaphi: "A plough in these parts is an exceedingly primitive article, somewhat similar to those which Homer would have seen if he had not

been blind. The chief ingredient in a plough is a tree with a trunk and two branches: one branch serves as a tail, and the other has a bit of iron fixed to it, and penetrates the ground; the trunk is the pole."

*actus* varied. The nature of the soil rendered such a variation inevitable, and likewise the kind of animals employed for draught. The mule-γύης would be greater in area than the ox-γύης.

How in the next place are we to explain the measurements of 100, 90, and 60 feet given by the Scholiasts? It is scarcely possible that they refer to square measure. Square measures are not found in primitive communities. Our own acre and rood afford an excellent illustration of the methods by which people who as yet have not made great advances in knowledge apportion out their land. The rood (= rod) was a portion of ground of a furrow's length, and in breadth a rod. Four such furrow-long strips made an acre, but by no means a *square* acre. The *length* of the field being a fixed measure, they simply spoke of so many *rods* or breadths of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet (cf. Seebohm, *op. cit.* p. 385). Furthermore, a patch of ground in area 60 feet  $\times$  60 feet would surely be too small a portion to represent a day's work even among the most lazy of peoples. Again, in spite of the dogmatic statements of the Lexicons, it is most improbable that the πέλεθρον of Homer was a square measure, not merely for the reason which I have just stated, but also from the fact that it is not until Plato that we find it used as a square measure (= 10,000 feet). Readers of Herodotus and Xenophon remember how they invariably find the πλέθρον as a measure of the *breadth* of rivers, etc.

It undoubtedly required the development of some skill in arithmetic to bring square measures into vogue. Finally the evidence of the poems is against our taking πέλεθρον as a square measure.

We find the word in two well-known passages: (1) in *Il.* xxi. 407, Ares, when overthrown by Athene, ἐπτά ἐπέσχε πέλεθρα πεσών; and (2) in *Od.* xi. 577, we read that Tityos ἐπ' ἐννέα κείτο πέλεθρα. In neither case does πέλεθρον refer to agriculture. This fact, taken together with the undoubted use of γύης as the agricultural unit, makes it evident that πέλεθρον is not used for an area or surface measure in Homer. Likewise, from its being used to describe the prostrate position of fallen giants, we should naturally regard it as a measure of *length* and not of area. In *Il.* xi. 353-54, we have a passage which has a very important bearing on this question. Diomedes has

hurled his spear at Hector, and has smitten him on the helm ; the spear glances off—

Ἐκτωρ δ' ὦκ' ἀπέλεθρον ἀνέδραμε, μίκτο δ' ὀμίλῳ.

At the best, it is not very Homeric to say 'he quickly started back an immeasurable distance,' or to say 'immeasurably swiftly.' Accordingly I conjectured ὦκα πέλεθρον, 'he sprang back the distance of πέλεθρον.' Afterwards I found that there is MS. authority (L) for such a division of the words. If this reading could be established, it would prove beyond doubt my view that Homer uses πέλεθρον as a measure of *length* only. How then did the πλέθρον come to be identified with the γῆς and ζυγόν? Was it because, given a furrow of fixed length, the average day's ploughing would be a *breacallh* (πλέθρον, cf. πλατύς, etc.) of 100 feet? The πλέθρον would thus be the distance from οὖρον to οὖρον, just as the English *acre* was measured from balk to balk. Similarly then, the length of the field being a fixed unit, the οὔρα of mules and the οὔρα of oxen came to be recognised as measures of area (cf. the terms *Bovata* and *Oxgang*). As further examples of a day's work being taken as a unit of land measure, Mr. Seebohm (*op. cit.* 124) gives the Gallic *journal*, Low Latin *diurnalis* or *journalis*, and German *Morgen*, all employed to denote the patches in the common fields.

Let us now proceed by the negative method, and see what evidence can be obtained from that source.

Naturally one of the first questions to suggest itself in this connection is the law of succession to property. Let us see what light, if any, it throws on this matter. In *Il.* v. 153, *seqq.* we are told of one Phainops who

τέρετο γήραι λυγρῷ,  
 υἱὸν δ' οὐ τέκετ' ἄλλον ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι λιπέσθαι.  
 εὐθ' ὄγε τοὺς ἐνάριζε, φίλον δ' ἐξαίνυτο θυμὸν  
 ἀμφοτέρω, πατέρι δὲ γόον καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ  
 λείπ', ἐπεὶ οὐ ζῶντε μάχης ἐκ νοστήσαντε  
 δέξατο· χηρωσταὶ δὲ διὰ κτήσιν δατέοντο.

The κτεάτεσσι of l. 154 is represented in l. 158 by the collective noun κτήσις. As a preliminary we must examine the usage of κτήσις, κτήματα, κτέρας, and their cognates in the poems. If



the result of this examination is to show that by these terms *chattel* property, and that only, is meant, and that property in *land* is never included under them, it will have added a strong point to the argument. For if in the case of Phainops it is only chattel property which the *χρηῶσται* divide, and there is no mention whatever made of *land* either explicitly or implicitly, we are justified in drawing the inference that Phainops, rich though he was, had no severalty in land.

The meaning of *κτήματα* cannot be mistaken in *Il.* iii. 70, 72; vii. 350, 363; xiii. 626. In all these cases they are the valuables carried off along with Helen by Paris. Neither can we have any doubt of its sense in *Il.* ix. 382 (*ὅθι πλείστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κείταρ*), nor in *Od.* iv. 127, where the same formula appears, referring in each case to Egyptian Thebes. We get a clear view of *κτήσεις* from *Il.* xiv. 489-91;—

ὁ δ' οὔτασέν' Ἰλιονῆα,  
υἷὸν Φόρβαντος πολυμήλου, τὸν ῥα μάλιστα  
Ἑρμείας Τρώων ἐφίλει καὶ κτήσιν ὅπασσέν.

Here the epithet *πολύμηλος* elucidates it for us.

*κτήμα* plainly refers to a chattel in the only place where it is found in the singular, *Od.* xv. 19—

μή νύ τι, σεῦ ἀέκητι, δόμων ἐκ κτήμα φέρηται.

The cognate *κτέρας*, in the only two places where it occurs (*Il.* x. 216; xxiv. 235), refers in the one case to an *ῥις*, in the other to a *δέπας*. Again the verb *κτάσμαι* is never used of the acquisition of *land*, either in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, though used of slaves, *Od.* xiv. 3, 460; of a wife, *Od.* xxiv. 193; of an *οἶκος*, *Od.* xx. 265. The same may be said of *κτεατίζω*, with the exception of one passage (*Od.* xxiv. 207), to which I must return hereafter.

To complete the list we may add the compounds *πολυκτήμων* (*Il.* v. 613) and *ἀκτήμων* (*Il.* ix. 121, 268). The result of an examination must be to show that the heirs of Phainops divided personal or chattel property merely, but came in for no inheritance in land, and furthermore that the idea of property in *land* is foreign certainly to the *Iliad*, if not to the *Odyssey*.

Having now dealt with the evidence drawn from succession to property, let us next consider in what did the wealth of an

Homeric Greek consist. An obvious method of gaining a correct view on this point is to enumerate all the epithets employed to denote a man as wealthy. We find the word *πολυκτῆμων* already disposed of, *πολύμηλος*, *Il.* xvi. 417, xx. 220; *πολύρρην*, *Il.* ix. 154; *πολύαρνι* (metaplastic dative), *Il.* ii. 106; *πολυπάμων*, *Il.* iv. 433, where the kind of property meant is made clear by the context—

Τρῶες δ', ὥστ' ὅϊες πολυπάμονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν αὐλῇ  
 μυρταί ἐσθήκασιν ἀμελγόμεναι γάλα λευκόν,  
 ἀζηχὲς μεμακύναι, ἀκούουσai ὅπα ἀρνῶν.

Such words as *πολυχρῦσος*, *πολύχαλκος* (*Il.* x. 315) speak for themselves. *ἀφνειὸς* is explained for us by such phrases as *ἀφνειὸς χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐσθῆτος*, *Od.* i. 165.

There still remain two important epithets, *πολυλήϊος* and *πολύκληρος*, both of which call for some more extended remarks.

Turning first to *πολυλήϊος*, we shall quickly find that the meaning of this word and its twin, *ἀλήϊος*, in the Homeric poems has been strangely overlooked. The ordinary authorities take *πολυλήϊος* (*Il.* v. 613, *ναῖε πολυκτῆμων πολυλήϊος*) to mean 'rich in cornfields,' thus deriving it from *λήϊον*, although the latter is never used in Homer in the sense of *field*, but always means the *corn growing on the field, the corn on shank* (cf. *Il.* xi. 560), and the self-same distinction between *ἄρουρα* and *λήϊον* is made in the new Ionic of Herodotus (v. 92), in the well-known story of Thrasybulus. It would seem, then, that if *πολυλήϊος* is connected with *λήϊον*, it must mean not rich in land, but rich in standing corn. As this term could only be applied to a man for the brief period preceding the harvest, it would be singular to find it employed as an *epitheton constans*.

Let us now turn to *ἀλήϊος*. In *Il.* ix. 264 seqq., Odysseus, when, on behalf of Agamemnon, he offers requital-gifts to Achilles, says—

ἔπ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα  
 αἰθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἐλείκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους  
 πηγούς ἀθλοφόρους, οἳ ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄροντο.  
 οὐ κεν ἀλήϊος εἴη ἀνὴρ ὃ τόσσα γένοιτο,  
 οὐδέ κεν ἀκτῆμων ἐριτίμοιο χρυσοῖο.

What force has ἀλήϊος in this passage if we connect it with λήϊον, whether in the sense of *lackland* or *lackcrop*? That, however, the writer of the poem did not employ ἀλήϊος in either of these senses, but rather connected it with ληΐς, λεία, is set forth clearly in the reply of Achilles, ll. 406 *seqq.*—

ληϊστοὶ μὲν γάρ τε βόες καὶ ἵφια μῆλα,  
κτητοὶ δὲ τρίποδες τε καὶ ἵππων ξανθὰ κάρηνα.  
ἀνδρὸς δὲ ψυχὴ πάλιν ἐλθεῖν οὔτε λειστή, κ.τ.λ.

Who can doubt that the ληϊστοὶ and κτητοὶ of the refusal correspond respectively to the ἀλήϊος and ἀκτῆμων of the offer? More light is thrown on the matter by line 280, where the envoys add that Achilles is to have the choicest score of Trojan women, ὅτε κεν δατεώμεθα ληϊδ' Ἀχαιοί.

Again φιλολήϊος (*h. Hermes*, 335) is universally taken as derived from λεία, since it is used in direct reference to the word ληΐς five lines above, and both words refer to the oxen of Apollo.

To crown all, one Scholiast at least derives ἀλήϊος ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν λείαν. From the Hesiodic poems we may add two noteworthy passages: (1) *Theogony*, 444—

ἐσθλή (*sc.* Ἑκate) δ' ἐν σταθμοῖσι σὺν Ἑρμῇ ληϊδ' ἀέξειν  
βουκολίας τ' ἀγέλας τε καὶ αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν  
ποίμνας τ' εἰροπόκων ὄτων, θυμῷ γ' ἐθέλουσα,  
ἐξ ὀλέγων βριάει, καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μέλινα θῆκεν,

Here the meaning of ληΐς is made plain by the enumeration which follows. (2) *Works and Days*, 702—

οὐ μὲν γάρ τι γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ληΐζειτ' ἄμεινον  
τῆς ἀγαθῆς, τῆς δ' αὖτε κακῆς οὐ ῥίγιον ἄλλο.

There is no notion of unlawful seizure expressed by ληΐζεται here, as I think no one is likely to claim this isolated expression as an example of the 'Form of Capture' as set forth in Mr. McLennan's famous work.

From the passages to which I have referred, and from others which might be quoted, it becomes fairly obvious that ληΐς (λεία is not found in Homer) denoted all kinds of live chattels, such as slaves and cattle, thus standing in contrast to κτήματα, inanimate articles of property.

As a result of this examination, it is now evident that there is not one of the epithets from the *Iliad* which denotes wealth in *land*. On turning to the *Odyssey*, however, we are confronted with two adjectives, *πολύκληρος* and *ἄκληρος*. We are now obliged to consider the history of the word *κληρος*, which plays so important a part in the terminology of property in Attic law. It primarily means the lot itself, *e.g.* the symbols (probably pieces of stone) cast into the helmet of Agamemnon by the Achaean chieftains, *Il.* vii. 175.

Secondly, it came to denote the object assigned by the lot, especially a portion of land. Finally, in Attic law it came to mean the whole of an inheritance comprising both the *οὐσία ἄφανής* and *οὐσία φανερά*, as is evidenced by the terms *κληρονομεῖν*, *κληρονόμος*, and *ἐπὶ κληρος*. We are certainly justified in assuming that lands were in early times allocated by lot, whatever the tenure under which they were held may have been. For the oft-quoted passage where the settlement of the Phaiakians in Scherie, under their chieftain Nausithoos, is described (*Od.* vi. 9, 10—

ἀμφὶ δὲ τεῖχος ἔλασσε πύλει, καὶ ἐδείματο οἴκους,  
καὶ νηοὺς πόησε θεῶν, καὶ ἐδάσσατ' ἀρούρας),

does not at all imply that the chief allocated the lands. He directs all the important details of the founding of the settlement, and amongst these not the least would have been the selecting of those portions of the newly acquired territory suitable for tillage, and marking it out into equal portions, which in all probability were distributed by lot amongst the settlers, whether they were to be held absolutely or in common. For as regards the actual nature of the tenure, we are left in ignorance by this passage. We have, however, in historical times, a fair example of the allocation of newly acquired lands in the case of the Athenian *κληροῦχοι*. The lands were divided in equal portions, probably each *κληρος*, consisting partly of arable land and partly of wood land, as we learn from the very important Attic inscription discovered in 1884, which Koehler, with great probability, regards as a decree relating to the occupation of Salamis by *κληροῦχοι* on the subjugation of the island, between 575 and 559 B.C. (Koehler, *Mittheil.* ix. (1884), p. 117 *seqq.*). The lots are proved to have been equal by the

fact that the absentee tax to be paid by non-resident κληροῦχοι, who preferred to live at Athens, seems to have been a fixed sum.

Doubtless the Athenians would follow the time-honoured method of allotting lands invariably adopted in the planting of colonies.

The supposition that the κλήρος (portion of land) indicated originally an allotment held in a common field, is rendered probable by the practice of other primitive peoples. Without doubt such a method is the simplest means of avoiding strife and heart-burnings, and such is still the practice in the common-field system in Palestine, as we learn from an interesting extract from the records of the Palestine Exploration Fund, quoted by Mr. Seebohm, *op. cit.* p. 315.

In two passages in Homer the word κλήρος indubitably means a portion of land. In *Il.* xv. 495, Hector guarantees that the οἶκος and κλήρος of each slain warrior shall be secured for his wife and children. But here κλήρος need mean nothing more than that the right to a portion in the common fields shall be preserved, and that care shall be taken to protect the widow and orphans against those who would seek to remove the landmarks, the misfortune dreaded by Andromache, as we have seen already. This view is not only supported by the evidence drawn from the epithets in the *Iliad*, but is rendered highly probable by a circumstance, which, I think, has not been previously noted. The Trojans seem to be in the stage of social development known as the House-community. This appears from the description of Priam's house in *Il.* vi. 243 *seqq.*—

αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ

πεντήκοντ' ἔνεσαν θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο,  
πλησίοι ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι· ἔνθα δὲ παῖδες  
κοιμῶντο Πριάμοιο παρὰ μνηστῆς ἀλόχοισιν.  
κουράων δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἐνδοθεν αὐλῆς  
δώδεκ' ἔσαν τέγροι θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο,  
πλησίοι ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι· ἔνθα δὲ γαμβροὶ  
κοιμῶντο Πριάμοιο παρ' αἰδοίης ἀλόχοισιν.

From this we see that Priam's sons and daughters, even when married, dwelt under his roof. The term ἐφέστιοι applied (*Il.* ii. 125) to the native Trojans, as contrasted with their ἐπίκουροι,

tends in the same direction, especially if we call to mind the significant use of the correlative term ἀνέστιος (ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος) in *Il.* ix. 63—4.

But when we come to *Odyssey* xiv. 63—65, the case is very different. Here we find κλῆρος classed along with οἶκος and γύνη as the usual benefactions which an ἄναξ εὐθυμος bestows on a slave who has served him faithfully. Unfortunately the use of the word ἄναξ admits two interpretations for this passage. In either case the κλῆρος mentioned cannot be taken out of the common land.

If we take ἄναξ = *king, chieftain*, then the king must have settled his freedman on part of the royal domain (which, by this time, has become hereditary), and the slave, like the mediaeval villein, would probably pay a portion of the produce to his master as a sort of rent. For, as we shall see hereafter, the king had no power over the common land. On the other hand, if ἄναξ simply means *master* (cf. *Il.* xxiv. 734, *Od.* i. 397), we are at once brought face to face with an epoch when severalty in landed property is being established. The latter view seems to me the most probable, especially in the light of what follows. The use of the adjective πολύκληρος (*Od.* xiv. 211) indicates most clearly an age when property in land is recognised as an important item of wealth, and when many κλῆροι had come to be accumulated in the hands of one individual, and when consequently landed property was held perpetually in severalty. Such, too, may be the explanation of the adjective ἄκληρος in the famous utterance of Achilles, *Od.* xi. 489—90—

βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητενέμεν ἄλλῳ  
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ὃ μὴ βίσιος πολὺς εἶη, κ.τ.λ.

As πολύκληρος may be a general descriptive epithet of a wealthy man, so ἄκληρος may be that of a poor man. It certainly savours of a bull, if we take the epithet strictly and say that a man works as a farm-labourer (ἐπάρουρος) for a man who has no land (κλῆρος). There is, however, an explanation which entirely escapes from this difficulty. May not ἄκληρος denote such a class of 'outsiders' as are found attached to certain villages in Central and Southern India, who unmistakably 'form no part of the natural and organic aggregate to

which the bulk of the villages belong' (Maine, *Village Communities*, p. 127) ?

Again, we find settled on the unappropriated land of every Irish tribe a class of persons called by various names, Seuecleithes, Bothachs, and Fuidhirs. The Bordarii and Cotarii of Domesday are supposed to have occupied a somewhat similar position. In all these cases it has been suspected that the servile orders had an origin different from that of the dominant race (cf. Maine, *Early Institutions*, pp. 172 *seqq.*). Perhaps the Irish Fuidhirs, or 'broken men,' are the nearest analogy which we can find for a class of which we find distinct traces in Homer. The Fuidhirs were 'strangers or fugitives from other territories, men, in fact, who had broken the original tribal bond which gave them a place in the tribal community, and who had to obtain another as best they might in a new tribe and a new place.' Such is the man described in *Il.* ix. 63—

ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος  
ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου κρυόντος.

And again in *Il.* ix. 648—

ὥσεί τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην,

we get a terse description of the unhappy lot of such a 'broken man,' where, as has been happily suggested,<sup>1</sup> ἀτίμητον means that his life has no τίμη, is worth no *Eric* or *Bloodgelt*.

Such persons would be settled on the waste lands of the community, such lands as are described in *h. Venus*, 123–24—

πολλὰ δ' ἔπ' ἤγαγεν ἔργα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
πολλήν δ' ἄκληρόν τε καὶ ἄκτιον, ἣν διὰ θῆρες  
ὠμοφάγοι φοιτῶσι, κ.τ.λ.

The term ἄκληροι would fitly describe such 'outsiders,' and Achilles might well regard service for such a master as tantamount to the lowest drudgery.

It will be convenient in this place to return to *Od.* xxiv. 207, where we find the verb κτεατίζειν used in connection with ἀγρός. Although high authorities have regarded this ἀγρός as a τέμενος bestowed by the community on the aged Laertes

<sup>1</sup> By Dr. Henry Jackson. For τίμη = ποινή, cf. *Il.* i. 159.

in requital for his services, ἐπεὶ μάλα πόλλ' ἐμόγησεν, perhaps, since the term τέμενος is not applied to it, it is better to view the farm as his own acquisition, won from the waste by his own exertions.

Taking this in connection with a passage in *Il.* xxiii, 832-835—

εἴ οἱ καὶ μάλα πολλὸν ἀπόπροθι πίονες ἄγροί  
ἔξει μιν καὶ πέντε περιπλομένους ἐνιαυτοὺς  
χρεώμενος· οὐ μὲν γάρ οἱ ἀτεμβόμενός γε σιδήρου  
ποιμὴν οὐδ' ἄροτῆρ εἶσ' ἐς πόλιν, ἀλλὰ παρέξει,

we get a glimpse of one of the ways by which permanent property in land may have arisen. A chieftain who had capital, *i.e.* oxen and slaves, more than sufficient to cultivate the τέμενος, might take possession of a piece of waste land remote from the town and from the divided lands of the community. His slaves would till it for him, and protect it against marauders. It would become his undisputed property, and at his death would naturally pass to his heirs, whilst the royal τέμενος would revert to the community to be bestowed on the next chieftain.

From the foregoing remarks there seem to be considerable grounds for stating that in the *Odyssey* we see evidences of a state of society later in time and more advanced in institutions than that portrayed in the *Iliad*. It would be futile to attempt any computation of the period of time which divides the two epochs. In support of this view, we may quote *Od.* xiv. 208—11, where Odysseus, pretending to be the bastard son of a certain Kretan, relates that when his father died—

τοὶ ζῶν ἐδάσαντο  
παῖδες ὑπέρθυμοι, καὶ ἐπὶ κλήρους ἐβάλοντο·  
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μάλα παῦρα δόσαν καὶ οἰκί' ἔνειμαν,  
ἡγαγόμεν δὲ γυναῖκα πολυκλήρων ἀνθρώπων.

This, to all intents, is the practice prevailing at Athens in historic times. The legitimate sons divided the property by lot, whilst the bastard received a sum of money, τὰ νοθεῖα, (*cf.* *Arist. Aves*, 1656,) which was limited to 1,000 drachmas by a law of Solon. Were it not for the occurrence of πολυκλήρος, the words ζῶν ἐδάσαντο might be simply taken as equivalent to διὰ κτήσιν δατέοντο, as ζῶη seems never to include land,



and thus there would be no necessity for regarding the passage as indicating a late epoch.

There still remains to be noticed an important feature of the Homeric community, and one which is of considerable value in aiding us to form some notion of the mode in which private property in land gradually supplanted the older system. As among other primitive peoples, we find a portion of land set apart for the chief, so the *τέμενος βασιλῆϊον* is a regular feature of the Homeric poems. In the tale of Bellerophon (*Il.* vi. 191—95), we read how the king of Lykia—

δῶκε δέ οἱ τιμῆς βασιληϊδος ἥμισυ πάσης  
καὶ μὲν οἱ Λύκιοι τέμενος τάμον ἔξοχον ἄλλων  
καλὸν φυταλῆς καὶ ἀρούρης.

Here it is most noteworthy that whilst the king has the full disposal of his own *τιμὴ*, he has no power over the land, but it is the Lykians themselves who give the hero his *τέμενος*. This affords an interesting parallel to the case of the Hindu chieftains (cf. Elphinstone, *History of India*, Bk. ii. c. 2).

Again, from the story of Meleagros (*Il.* ix. 574—80), we learn that in order to appease his wrath, the elders send the priests to him—

ὑποσχόμενοι μέγα δῶρον·  
ὀππόθι πιότατον πεδίον Καλυδῶνος ἐρανῆς,  
ἔνθα μιν ἦνωγον τέμενος περικαλλῆς ἐλέσθαι  
πεντηκοντόγυον, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ οἶνοπέδοιο,  
ἥμισυ δὲ ψιλὴν ἄροσιν πεδίοιο ταμέσθαι.

In this case, likewise, it is not the king but the elders who make the grant, for King Oeneus is represented in the succeeding lines as merely adding his entreaties to those of his people.

Once more do we learn the reason why such domains were allotted from the words of Sarpedon—

Γλαῦκε, τίη δὴ νῶϊ τετιμήμεσθα μάλιστα  
ἔδρη τε κρέασιν τ' ἡδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσιν  
ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ θεοὺς ὥς εἰσορόωσιν ;  
καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα μέγα Ξάνθοιο παρ' ὄχθας  
καλὸν φυταλῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο ;

*Il.* xii. 310—14.

These *τεμένη* were cultivated for the chief by his slaves or hired labourers (*ἐριθοί*), nay, the chief himself disdained not to guide the plough, as we know from the words (*Od.* xviii. 374) in which Odysseus vaunts his skill as a ploughman. (So, too, the Hindu king Janaka, in the *Ramayana*, i. 66, speaks of himself as ploughing his own land.) It is doubtless the harvesting of such a domain, and not a picture of an ordinary cornfield, which occupies one of the compartments of the shield (*Il.* xviii. 550–60).

It is explicitly termed a *τέμενος*, and the chieftain himself (and of this there can be doubt, for he is called *βασιλεύς*,<sup>1</sup> not *ἄναξ*), in the midst of his *ἐριθοί*—

*σκήπτρον ἔχων ἐστήκει ἐπ' ὄγμου γηθόσυνος κῆρ.*

The *τέμενος* is described in l. 550 as either *βασιλῆιον* or *βαθυλήιον*, according as we adopt one or other of the alternative readings. *βασιλῆιον* deserves strong support from the consideration (1) that the word *τέμενος* itself is sufficient to show that the land belongs to a chief, and (2) that it is unlikely that the entire *τέμενος* would be under corn, which is necessarily implied if we adopt the reading *βαθυλήιον*. I know not how far we may be justified in believing that the harvest scene, on what we have strong grounds for regarding as the chief's domain, is directly contrasted with the scene which immediately precedes, it, the Ploughing of the Fallow. For in the latter I believe we have depicted the tilling of the great common field, *ἐν δ' ἐτίθει νεὺν μαλακὴν, πλείραν ἄρουραν, εὐρεΐαν, τρίπολον*. It is plainly not the land of the chief, for in that case it should have been included under the term *τέμενος*. Its extent prevents us from regarding it as the field of an ordinary individual, for it is *εὐρεΐα*, and πολλοὶ ἀροτῆρες ἐν αὐτῇ, ζεύγεα δινεύοντες ἐλάστρεον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα. I have little doubt but that the hitherto received notion regarding property in land in Homeric times has sprung from a misunderstanding of the harvest scene. People have taken for granted that the *βασιλεύς* there mentioned is simply the stout farmer of modern times superintending his labourers.

<sup>1</sup> The words *ἔχων σκήπτρον* likewise put the matter beyond all doubt, as an investigation of all the passages in which *σκήπτρον* occurs makes it con-

clusive that it is always a symbol of office, whether kingly or judicial, and is never used simply for a staff or walking-stick.

In the shield the poet's aim is to give a series of pictures of the various sides of human existence (except those which are sad and mournful). Accordingly we see all sorts and conditions of men severally represented in their appropriate surroundings; the βασιλεὺς stands in his τέμενος, the Gerontes are sitting ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῶ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ, and the λαοὶ εἰν ἀγορῇ ἔσαν ἀθρόοι. The feature which really differentiated the chief from the Gerontes, was the possession of the Temenos, and accordingly the poet selects a scene on that royal domain as the fitting setting for his picture of the king. The ploughing of the fallow gains a new significance when we remember that everywhere under the system of common-field cultivation there were rigid rules regulating tillage. All the joint cultivators had to commence ploughing on the same day. Plough Monday, still commemorated as a village festival, is the record of the day on which our forefathers began the ploughing of the common field. Is it going too far, then, to suppose that those 'many ploughers' of the Homeric lines are joint cultivators, each tilling his own allotment in the one great field?

It is obvious that as soon as the office of chieftain became hereditary, the Temenos would become the private property of the reigning family. Such is the case with Odysseus. The office of Headman has become fixed in his family from there having been a succession of vigorous chiefs, but that the royal appanages were far from secure for his son Telemachos, is made plain by the words of his mother—

σὸν δ' οὐπῶ τις ἔχει καλὸν γέρας, ἀλλὰ ἐκηλος  
Τηλέμαχος τέμενος νέμεται, κ.τ.λ.

*Od.* xi. 184–85.

From this we may infer that the Temenos went with the chieftainship. It is interesting to observe that just as in mediæval times all improvements in agriculture arose on the lord's domain, since it was both for his private interest to make his land as remunerative as possible, and he was not bound down by the same strict rules for tillage, so in Homeric Hellas likewise, it is in the Temenos that we find what traces there are of superior cultivation. Already the harvest scene has given us a picture of a goodly crop, at the sight of which the chief's 'heart is

rejoiced,' whilst in the *Odyssey* poor dog Argos, old and outcast, lay

ἐν πολλῇ κόπρῳ, ἣ οἱ προπάροιθε θυράων,  
 ἡμιόνων τε βοῶν τε, ἄλις κέχυτ', ὅφρ' ἂν ἄγοιεν  
 δμῶες Ὀδυσσῆος τέμενος μέγα κοπρίσσοντες.

*Od.* xvii. 297-99.

No doubt self-interest soon taught the chiefs to manure and till their lands carefully. All other traces of superior husbandry which we find, refer to *κῆποι* and *άλωαί*, which would either form parts of the *Temenos*, or in the case of private individuals would be held in severalty, a certain portion going with each house and inclosed by a fence, whilst on the other hand the *ἄρουρα* is always uninclosed. Whilst *ἔρκος ἀλωῆς* is a regular feature of the poems, nowhere do we meet with an *ἔρκος ἀρούρης*. We find a close parallel to this in the English 'closes' (Low Latin, 'clausum'), a fenced-off portion of ground going with each homestead, and so called in contrast to the fenceless open fields.

That the system of tillage was that known as 'two shift,' there can be but little doubt. Whenever ploughing is mentioned, we almost invariably find that the operation is taking place in a *νειὸς* or fallow. This renders it probable that each year half the arable land was tilled, and half lay fallow, covered with a scurf of weeds.<sup>1</sup>

Before concluding, it is worth while to inquire what is the nature of the land system indicated in the Hesiodic poems. The data are but scanty, yet I think they are sufficient to show us that we have in the *Works and Days* a record of an epoch later than the *Odyssey*, and far later than the *Iliad*. Land is held in severalty, and descends to the children, who divide it between them, just as at Athens in the age of the Orators. So we may gather from the words—

ἦδη μὲν γὰρ κληρὸν ἐδασσάμεθ', ἄλλα τε πολλὰ  
 ἀρπάζων ἐφόρεις μέγα κυδαίνων βασιλῆας.

*Works*, 36-37.

That farms were freely bought and sold, as at Athens, is clear

<sup>1</sup> That such was the practice in the time of Pindar is clear from *Nem.* vi. 10.

from the *Works* (336-41), where there is an exhortation to honour the gods with sacrifices—

ὥς κέ τοι ἴλαον κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἔχωσιν,  
 ὄφρ' ἄλλων ὦνῃ κλήρον, μὴ τὸν τεὸν ἄλλος.

Finally, the whole tone of the poem gives us a clear impression that the system of which he treats is one of separate and hereditary ownership. Incidentally this has an important bearing on the chronology of the Homeric poems. I have already stated some reasons for supposing that the *Odyssey* represents a later age than the *Iliad*. Now although the use of the term πολὺκλήρος in the *Odyssey* is an indication that the accumulation of κλήροι had already commenced, possibly by inheritance, a considerable time must have elapsed before the Hesiodic stage of an open market for land was reached, a stage to all intents the same as that which we find in Attica in the age of Pericles. In thus comparing Homer and Hesiod, we of course are assuming that all parts of Greece developed at the same rate. In any case, even supposing that the rate of progress was uneven, Boeotia, in relation to other parts of Hellas, is more likely to have been in a backward than in a forward state, in which case we should allow for a longer interval between the *Odyssey* and the *Works and Days*.

We have now passed in review whatever evidence can be drawn from the poems for ascertaining the nature of the land-system in Homeric times, both positive evidence from certain agricultural terms, and negative based on an examination of certain epithets, the law of succession, the use of the term κλήρος, the institution of the Temenos, getting what help we could from the comparative method. How far this paper has succeeded in its object, is for others to judge.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

## INSCRIPTIONS COPIED BY COCKERELL IN GREECE.—II.

IN the earlier number of the present volume (p. 143 *sqq.*) I gave some account of a MS. collection of inscriptions made by C. R. Cockerell in 1810-1814, and also gave copies of all those from the mainland of Greece, which appeared to be hitherto unpublished. The present paper will cover the rest of that collection, which is mostly derived from Asia Minor.

I add a complete list of the remaining contents of Cockerell's volumes. Those unpublished are reproduced below; in the case of all those previously edited, a collation with the published copy has been made and kept, and I should be very glad to show these collations to any one interested in the matter.

C. 50 <sup>1</sup> = <i>C.I.G.</i> 2370	66 = In Spon (also <i>It. Mus.</i> 1833, 22)
C. 51 = „ 41	*67 Unpublished
*C. 52 Unpublished	68 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3924 <i>b</i>
C. 53 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 2304	*69 Unpublished
C. 54 = „ 2305	*70 Unpublished
C. 55 = „ 2294	*71 Unpublished
C. 56 = Le Bas and Wad. V. 127	72 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3909
C. 57 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3107	*73 Unpublished
C. 58 = „ 3106	74 <i>a</i> = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3925
C. 59 = Le Bas & Wad. V. 1560, 1563	<i>b</i> = part of <i>C.I.G.</i> 3915
C. 60 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3092	<i>c</i> = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3911
61 = „ 3061	*75 Unpublished
62 = „ 3094	*76 Unpublished
63 = „ 3130	77 = Le Bas and Wad. V. 630
64 = „ 3545	78 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3453
65 = „ 3544	

<sup>1</sup> In my last paper I numbered all the inscriptions consecutively; it has since appeared more convenient to follow Cockerell's system of numbering, though

inconsistent. When the two systems overlap, I have added a C, to avoid confusion in references.

- 79 = *C.I.G.* 3473  
 84  $\alpha$  = „ 3470  
      $\delta$  = *Le Bas and Wad.* V. 631  
 80 = *C.I.G.* 3517  
 \*81 Unpublished  
 82  $\alpha$  = *C.I.G.* 3508  
      $\delta$  = „ 3484  
 83 = „ 3516  
 84 See between 79 and 80  
 85 = *C.I.G.* 3565 = 9285  
 86  $\alpha$  = „ 3563  
      $\delta$  Unpublished  
 \*87 Unpublished  
 88 = *Le Bas and Wad.* V. 1662  
 89 In *Mith. d. d. Inst. zu Athen*,  
     VI. p. 138.  
 \*90 Unpublished  
 91 = *C.I.G.* 2947  
 92 = „ 2949  
 \*93 Unpublished  
 \*94 Unpublished  
 \*95 Unpublished  
 96 = *C.I.G.* 2259  
 \*97  $\alpha$  Unpublished  
      $\delta$  Unpublished  
 132 = *C.I.G.* 39  
 \*98 Unpublished  
 99 = *C.I.G.* 2679  
 \*100 Unpublished  
 101 = *C.I.G.*  
 \*102 = *Le Bas and Wad.* V. 222  
 103 } = *C.I.G.* 2870  
 104 }  
 \*105 Unpublished  
 106 = *C.I.G.* 4283  
 107  $\alpha$  = „ 4281  
      $\delta$  Unpublished  
 108 = *C.I.G.* 4280  
 109 = „ 4292  
 110 = „ 4293  
 111 = „ 4295  
 \*112 Unpublished  
 \*113 Unpublished  
 114 = *C.I.G.* 4284  
 115 = „ 4285  
 116 = „ 4290  
 117 = „ *Add.* 4300 *q.*  
 118 = „ 4289  
 \*119 Unpublished  
 \*120 Unpublished  
 \*121 Unpublished

- \*122 Unpublished  
 123 = *C.I.G.* 4287  
 \*124 Unpublished  
 \*125  $\alpha$  Unpublished  
      $\delta$  Unpublished  
 \*126 Unpublished  
 \*127 Unpublished  
 128 = *Le Bas and Wad.* V. 1814  
 129 = *C.I.G. Add.* 4303 & 5.  
 130 = „ 4288  
 131 = „ *Add.* 4300 *u.*  
 132 See between 97 and 98  
 \*133 Unpublished  
 134 = *C.I.G.* 4304  
 \*135  $\alpha$  Unpublished  
      $\delta$  Unpublished  
 136 Unpublished  
 137  $\alpha$  = *C.I.G.* 4311  
      $\delta$  Unpublished  
 \*138 Unpublished  
 \*139 Unpublished  
 140 } = *C.I.G.* 4305  
 141  $\alpha$  }  
      $\delta$  = „ 4310

## VOL. II.

- 142 = *C.I.G.* 4323  
 143 = „ 4324  
 144 = *pt. of* „ 4332  
 145 = *C.I.G.* 4336  
 146  $\alpha$  = „ 4340  
      $\delta$  = „ 4339  
      $\epsilon$  = „ 4341  
 147 = „ 4360  
 148  $\alpha$  = „ 4344  
      $\delta$  = „ 4347  
 149 } = „ 4350  
 157 }  
 150  $\alpha$  = „ 4353  
      $\delta$  = „ 4352  
 151  $\alpha$  = „ 4358  
      $\delta$  = „ 4356  
 152 = „ 4346  
 153  $\alpha$  = „ 4357  
      $\delta$  = „ 4359  
 154 = „ 4361  
 155 = „ 4351  
 156 = „ 4343  
 157 = 149  
 158 = *pt. of* „ 4355

159	a =	C.I.G.	8884
	b =	"	8883
	c =	"	4349
160	=	"	4301
161	a =	"	4404
	b =	"	4403
162	a =	"	4410
	b =	"	4405
	c =	"	4401
163	=	"	4409
164	a =	"	4408
	b =	"	4406
	c =	"	4407
165	=	"	4422
166	=	"	4423
167	a =	"	4420
	b =	"	4419
168	=	"	4418
169	=	"	4421
170	=	"	4424
171	a }	"	4413
	b }	"	
172	}	"	4411
173	}	"	
174	=	"	4322
175	a =	"	9220
	b =	"	9208
176	a =	"	4429 = 9213
	b =	"	9211

176	c =	C.I.G.	9224
*177	a	Unpublished	
"	b	Unpublished	
178	=	C.I.G.	4430
*179	a	Unpublished	
	b =	C.I.G.	8937
180	a =	"	9201
"	b	Unpublished	
181	a =	C.I.G.	9237
"	b	Unpublished	
182	a =	C.I.G.	9164
	b =	"	9202
	c =	"	9178
183	a =	"	9165 Add. 4432 b
	b =	"	9167
184	a =	"	Add. 4432 c
	b =	"	9169
	c =	"	9171
185	a =	"	9166
	b =	"	9163
186	=	"	9172
187	=	"	8619
*188	a	Unpublished	
	b =	C.I.G.	4435
189	a	Unpublished	
	b =	C.I.G.	4436
190	a =	"	4442
	b =	"	4443 <sup>1</sup>

Before we proceed to the text of those inscriptions which either are entirely new or contain so much new matter that they are worth reproducing separately, a few words must be added about the much larger number which are identical with copies already made public. These will fall at once into three classes, each of which will need separate attention. To the first of these classes we may assign those examples which are known to be the source from which the published copies are derived; to the second belong those which offer a new and independent transcription, by which the published one can be verified or corrected; the third contains such as, though no ostensible con-

<sup>1</sup> In the above list the word 'unpublished' must not be pressed. But I have taken reasonable precautions against mistakes on this point by a careful search in Boeckh's *Corpus*, Le Bas and Waddington, and such period-

icals as the *Ἀθηνᾶιον, Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique, Mittheilungen des deutschen Instituts zu Athen*, &c. The numbers marked with an asterisk are reproduced below.



nection can be traced between them and the published transcriptions, yet bear too close a relation to those transcriptions to be regarded as independent, since they show coincidences even in mistakes, too frequent to be the result of mere chance.

In the first class it has been found by no means superfluous to verify all inscriptions in Boeckh's *Corpus*, of which the copies have been supplied by Walpole from Cockerell's book. Walpole often did his copying in a very careless manner, and often introduced into supposed *facsimiles* conjectural emendations which have helped to confirm error or to hide the truth. Some of his copies, on the other hand, are extremely accurate. It seems necessary to make the above remarks in order to vindicate the accuracy of Cockerell, which is far greater than any one would be led to suppose, who judged of it only from the published copies that are professedly derived from him. One or two illustrations will show this. Wherever *Aperlae* is mentioned Cockerell gives the true form. Walpole invariably alters the  $\Lambda$  to A, and it is owing to this alteration that the completely indefensible form *Aperrhac* has long held its ground. Such changes as  $\omega$  to  $\Omega$ ,  $\Sigma$  to  $\Xi$  are slight, but they obliterate certain indications of date. Another and more important alteration occurs in 145, *C.I.G.* 4336, where Cockerell gives in l. 8,  $\text{AKAΛΙΣΕΩ}$ , thus showing the city is Akalissos, not Limyra, as now conjecturally restored. Enough, however, has been said on this point; I need only add that I have made a note of all Walpole's alterations in my collation.

The second class will enable us to increase or improve the independent copies preserved in the *Corpus*; some of the more important cases are the following: in 50, *C.I.G.* 2370, Cockerell confirms Brøndsted's  $\text{ΛΕΙΒΙΑΝ}$  in l. 2, which is therefore probably correct; in 72, *C.I.G.* 3909, he gives the two additional lines

$\text{ΕΙΛΕΩΣΥΜΕΙΝΩ}$   
 $\text{ΑΡΧΗΓΕΙΤΗΣ}$ ,

which may, however, not belong to this inscription;<sup>1</sup> in 92, *C.I.G.* 2949, l. 12, he has  $\text{ΤΑΙΑΝΕΙΩΝ}$ , which makes it seem

<sup>1</sup> [These two additional lines are at Hierapolis (*C.I.G.* 3906).  $\text{ΑΡΧΗΓΕΙΤΗΣ}$  is the true reading.—*Ed.*]

that the real reading is *Τραιαυέων*, the name of the games referred to<sup>1</sup>; in 104, *C.I.G.* 2870, he adds to the right of the Greek the following Latin version :—

## I-ETIS-VAILI-

DVSINSHIVHCONSVMMA	-dus ins(t)i(t)ui(t) consumina-
VITHIDICAVIT-PER-QIVII	vit (et) dicavit per Q. Iu(l)i-
VMBAIVM-PROCOSVIEM	um Ba(l)bum proconsu(l)em
CVRAM AGENTE PASSIRIORO	curam agente Pass(e)rio Ro-
MVIOIGATO AVG-PRO-PR	mu(l)o (le)gato Aug.pro.pr.

These instances will suffice to show what may thus be gained from Cockerell, and include the most important examples. But a few words must now be given to the third class. Of the last seventy-seven inscriptions preserved by Cockerell, seventy are in the *Corpus*, and fifty of these from Beaufort's copies. Now among these fifty there are no less than twenty-eight which show coincidences of mistake, such readings as ΜΗΠΙΑ for ΜΗΤΕΡΑ, which necessitate the assumption that the copies are not really independent; while there are only three which seem to show signs of independence, and these uncertain. One of these deserves quoting, though singularly enough it also contains the very mistake already quoted, 156, *C.I.G.* 4343. Here Cockerell preserves marks of erasure which show that the inscription referred to Geta, who is not, however, described as τὸν ἱερὸν Κα[Ι]σ[α]ρα, which we should rather restore (μητέρα) τ(ῶ)ν ἱερ(ῶ)ν κάσ[τ]ρων, a well-known title of Julia Domna. What is the exact relation between Cockerell's copies and those of Beaufort must perhaps be left an open question; for though Beaufort has the advantage in point of time, Cockerell occasionally seems to preserve details lost in the other transcription.

The unpublished inscriptions preserved by Cockerell now follow in the order in which they are found in his book. In the interpretation of them I am indebted for many valuable suggestions to the Rev. E. L. Hicks and to Prof. W. M. Ramsay.

<sup>1</sup> [The reading of Pococke in the last two lines *περίδω κβ*, which Franz discredits in *C.I.G.*, is confirmed by Cockerell's copy. It denotes the twenty-second periodic celebration of the Tra-

janea, which were certainly penteteric. They were founded in honour or in memory of Trajan, and the twenty-second celebration was about 195-220 A.D.—*Ed.*]

C. 52.—Delos.

ΦΙΛΩΝΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥΑΧΑΙΟΣ  
ΤΗΝΘΥΙ'ΑΤΕΓΑΗΡΑΙΔΑΘΕΟΙΣ

ΔΗΞΑΛ . ΑΡΝΑΣΣΗΣΥΣΘΝΟ : Ε . .

Φίλων Διοδώρου Ἀχαιὸς  
τὴν θυ(γ)ατέ(ρ)α Ἑραΐδα θεοῖς  
Φύ(λ)ης Ἀλ[ικ]αρνασσ(ε)ὺς (ἐπ)ο[ί]ε[ι]

For the name Φύλης, cf. Hirschfeld, *Tituli Statuariae*, &c.,  
No. 70 a, b, c, 84.

67.—Hierapolis.

ΝΕΥΓ	ΑΔΟΥ
ΤΟΥΕΚ	ΕΥΟΝΕΑΥΤΟ
ΛΙΤ	ΕΑΣΤΟΠΟΝ

ὁ δεῖνα Ἀσκληπι]άδου  
ἐαυτ[ῶ]  
ἀγορά]σας τόπον

69.—Under same heading as 67, also 70, 71, 73, 75.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΕΥΤΥΧΟΥΣΤΟΥ  
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΛΑΤΕΙΝΕΙΩΣ

Τὸ μνημεῖον Εὐτύχους τοῦ  
Ἀπολλωνίου — ?

70.

ΤΑΥΓΗΣΤΗΣΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΑΝΙΙΙΙ . ΑΦΟΝΑΠΕΤΕΘΗΕΙΣΤΑΑΡΧΕΙΑ

Ταύ[τ]ης τῆς [ἐ]πιγραφῆς ἀν[τίγρ]αφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα,  
cf. *C.I.G.* 3924a, 3923, 3922 ; 3916, 3919, all also from Hiera-  
polis.

71.

ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟΣ ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΚΕΦΕΣΤΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ  
ΚΕΝΔΟΖΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΚΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ



Εὐγένιος ὁ ἐλάχιστος ἀρχιδιάκ(ονος) κ(αὶ) ἐφεστ(ὼς) τοῦ ἁγίου  
κ(αὶ) ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου κ(αὶ) θεολόγου Φιλίππου

Apparently Eugenios was the ἐφεστὼς of a church dedicated  
to St. Philip the Apostle.

73.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ + ΤΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΥΣ +  
ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΗΜΩΝ ΚΠΡΙΑΡΧΟ  
ΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΥ

Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου τε καὶ θεοσ(εβοῦς)  
ἀρχιεπισκ(όπ)ου ἡμῶν καὶ πατριάρχου  
Γενναίου

75.

ΤΟΝ ΒΩΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΣΟΡΟΝ

τὸν βωμόν καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ σορόν [κατεσκεύασεν ὁ δεῖνα]

κατ' αὐτοῦ is curious; we generally find the σορὸς is ἐπικει-  
μένη, cf. C.I.G. 3915, τῇ ἐπικειμένῃ κατ' αὐτοῦ (sc. βωμοῦ) σορῶ,  
it seems to mean 'against,' 'over against,' it.

76.—Sardes.

ΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΞΩΒΑΛΗ  
ΗΝΙΟΚΤΥΜΩΛΕΙ  
ΩΝΑΛΛΩΝ ΠΑΝ  
ΠΥΧΟΙΤΟΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΝ

...ὅς ἂν τι τῶν ἐνθάδε  
κει]μένων ἔξω βάλῃ,  
τ]ῶν ἄλλων πᾶν[των  
μετὰ πᾶν

5 ΩΝΜΗΤΕΘΙΕΜΜΑ

::ΜΗΤΕΟΜΜΑΤΩΝ

ΕΙΩΛΗΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ

ΤΟΝ

τ]ων μήτε θρεμμά[τ

ω](ν) μήτε ὀμμάτων

ἐ(ξ)ώλη[ς] γένοιτο

τὸν [πάντα χρόνον

Apparently an invocation of a curse on whoever shall cast out the remains here deposited, cf. *C.I.G.* 2826.

## 81.—Thyatira.

. — . ΖΩΝ . — .

ΑΛΚΙΜΟΣ. ΑΛΙΚΙΜΟΥ

ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΤΟΜΝΗ

ΜΕΙΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΑΠΦΙ

ΩΤΗΣΥΝΒΙΩ Ϝ.

Ζών

Ἄλκιμος Ἀλκίμου

κατεσκεύασεν τὸ μνη-

μεῖον ἐαυτῷ καὶ Ἀπφί-

ω τῇ συνβίω.

Ἄπφιον is not uncommon as a female name.

## 86b.—Samch (near Pergamus).

ΔΗΕϜ

ΠΩΤΩ

ΩΑΝΕ

Ϝ Ϝ

...δη(ς)

—πω τῷ

—ω ἀνέ-

[θηκεν]

## 87.—Bakir.

ΦΙΔΕΤΑΙΡΟΣ

ΚΑΙΕΛΠΙΣ 

ΕΛΠΙΔΗΦΩΡΩ

ΤΩΤΕΚΝΩΜΝΕΙ

ΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

Φι(λ)έταιρος

καὶ Ἐλπίς

Ἐλπιδηφόρῳ

τῷ τέκνῳ μνεί-

as χάριν.

The gap after Ἐλπίς seems merely to mark the place where the stone-cutter made a slip and then effaced it.

## 90.—Menimen.

ΙΩΝ

ΟΣΑΝΙΟΣΓΑΙΟΥΥΙΟΞΕΦΑΡΙΑ  
ΛΟΝΓΟΣΕΑΥΤΟΚΑΠΟΙΣΓΟΝΕΥΣΙ  
ΚΛΙΤΗΓΛΥΚΤΑΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ  
ΑΛΟΥΚΙΟΥΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΤΡΥΦ  
ΤΟΥΓΟΙΟΜ~

Ζῶν

Γάϊος Ἄν[υ]ιος Γαίου υἱὸς Φα(β)ία  
Λόγγος ἐαυτ(ῶ) κα(ὶ τ)οῖς γονεῦσι  
κ(α)ὶ τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ γυναικὶ  
Ἄ. Λουκίου θυγατρὶ Τρυφ [αἴνη vel simile quid  
ούση  
τὸ ὑ(π)όγ(ε)ιο(ν) [κατεσκέασεν

## 93.—Magnesia.

ΤΜ

ΑΝΝ

ΤΟΝΑ

ΤΟΝΥΠ

ΛΟΓΙΣΤ

ΣΩΤΗΡ

ΚΤΙΣΤΗ

ΠΑΤΡΙ

ΤΗΣΛΑΜΠΡ

ΠΟΛΕΩΣΤΗΣ

ΩΚΟΡΟΥΤΩΝ

ΙΕΡΑΣΤΟΥΔΙΟΣ

ΤΑΤΑΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ

ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥΙ

ΛΙΑΝΩΙ

ΟΙΝΥΣΤΑ

ΤΟΝΕΥΕ

Τ. Μ[αραθώνιον

Ἄν[ιβαλιανόν

τὸν λ[αμπρότατον ἀνθύπα-

τον ὑπ[ατικῶν υἱὸν

λογιστ[ὴν τῆς πόλεως]

σωτῆρ[α καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ

κτιστῆ[ν τῆς κοινῆς

πατρὶδος

τῆς λαμπρ[οτάτης μητρο-

πόλεως τῆς [Ἀσίας καὶ νε-

ωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ

ιερᾶς τοῦ Διὸς [Καπετωλίου κα-

τὰ τὰ δόγματα [τῆς ἱερωτάτης

συνκλήτου [καὶ φιλοσεβάστου

Σαρ]διανῶ[ν πόλεως

οἱ (μ)ύστα[ι

τὸν εὐε[ργέτην.

This and the following inscription must belong to Sardis.

Lines 1 and 2 must have been in large letters; the title λογιστὴν τῆς πόλεως, if correctly restored, must have been merely honorary, just as Emperors sometimes held city magistracies. Hannibalianus was Consul in A.D. 292.

## 94.—Magnesia.

ΥΠΑΠΚΩΝΤΙΙ-	[τοῦ ἐξ]
ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙΟΥ	Υπα(τι)κῶν Τί [του .
ΑΝΙΒΑΛΙΑΝΟΥ	Μαραθωνίου
ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΕΥΣΩ.	Ἀννιβαλιανοῦ
ΚΛ. ΚΑΠΙΤΩΛΕΙ.	ἀνθυπατεῦ[οντος
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ.Τ.ΦΛΙ	Κλ. Καπιτωλεῖ[ναν
ΜΗΤΡΟΦΑΝ	γυναῖκα Ι. Φλι
ΟΙΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΙΠ	Μητροφάν[ους
ΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ	οἱ κράτιστοι Π[ολύ
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΣΑΜΕΝ	κλειτος [καὶ ὁ δεῖνα
ΤΟΥΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΣ	ἐπιμελησαμέν[ου
ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΥ	τοῦ ἀνδριάντο[ς
	ἐπιτρόπου[τοῦ δεῖνος.

## 95.—Ephesus.

ΤΟΙ. Α. . ΔΙΑΣΣ	[τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐπιμεληθέν-]
ΑΠΙΜΗΣΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙ	τω [ν] Λ[ύρηλ]ίας
ΔΟΡΙΪΣΑΛΛΦΤΙΣ	Ἀ[μμ]ι(αν)ῆς Ἀπολλ(ω)νί-
ΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΜΑΥΡΙΝΕ	δο(ς τῆ)ς ἀ(δ)[ε]λφ(ῆ)ς
ΡΑΠΟΥΘΙΟΔΟΡΟΥΑΜ	αὐτοῦ καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Νε-
ΜΙΑΝΟΥΚΑΙΜΑΥΡΕ	ρα(τί)ου Θιοδ(ώ)ρον Ἀμ-
ΡΑΤΙΟΥΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΡΟΣ	μιανοῦ καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Νε-
ΑΜΜΙΑΝΟΥΤΩΝΑΔΕΛ	ρατίου Φιλύμητρος
ΦΟΝΑΥΤΟ	Ἀμμιανοῦ τῶν ἀδελ-
	φ(ῶ)ν αὐτοῦ.

## 97a.—Samos.

ΝΙΚΗΑΙΣΧΡΙ	Νίκη Λίσχρί-
ΩΝΟΣ	ωνος
ΓΥΝΗΔΕΑΥΛΟΥ	γυνή δὲ Αὔλου
ΑΤΑΝΙΟΥΗΡΩΙΝ	Ἀτανίου ἡρώϊν-
ΧΡΗΣΤΗΧΑΙΡΕ	η] χρηστὴ χαῖρε.

For name Atanius, cf. Mommsen *I.R.* iv. 2480, Dio Cass. lix. 8.

## 97b.

ΩΡΟΣΑΜ	Θεόδ]ωρος Ἀμ[βρ]
ΟΣΙΟΣ	όσιος

## 98.—Geronta (Branchidae).

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧ	Ἀγαθὴ τύχ[η
ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ [ὁ
ΔΗΜΟΣΕΤΕΜ	δῆμος ἐτε[ί]μ[η-
ΣΕΝΜΑΡΚΟΝ	σεν Μάρκον [Αἴ-
ΛΙΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙ	λιον Αὐρήλι[ον
ΔΟΜΝΟΝΤΟΝ	Δόμνον τὸν [ἔ-
ΡΗΓΟΝΚΑΙΑΜ	φη(β)ον καὶ ἀμ[φι-
ΘΑΛΗΝΙΚΗΣΑ	θαλῇ, νικήσα[ν
ΤΑΠΑΙΔΩΝΓ	τα παίδων π[ά
ΛΗΝΤΑΜΕΓΑ	λην τὰ μεγά[λα
ΔΙΑΥΜΕΙΑΕΝ	Διδυμεῖα ἐν [τῷ
ΙΕΡΩ	ἱερῷ.

Cf. *C.I.G.* 2888, which is quite similar in form.



## 100.—Geronta (Branchidae).

	Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ δεῖνος, ταμιεύοντος...]
ΗΟΥ< . . ΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ	...ου[ς το]ῦ Ἀπολλω
ΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΤΑΙΔΩΚΟΣ	νίου τοῦ (Φ)αῖδω(ν)ος
ΔΡΕΥΟΝΤΩΝ	παρε]δρευνόντων...
ΥΤΟΥΚΡΑΤΙΝΟΥΘΕΟΤΙΜΙ	...ύτου Κρατίνου Θεοτιμί[δου
ΔΕΑΝΕΤΕΘΗΤΩΙΑΠΟΛ	ἐνθά]δε ἀνετέθη τῷ Ἀπ[έλ]λωνι
ΛΗΟΛΚΗΝΑΤΟΥΣΑΑΛΕ	φιά]λη ὀλκὴν ἄ(γ)ουσα (ΔΔ†)

The repetition of the ΝΙΟΥ in lines 1 and 2 is probably merely a slip of the copyist.

102 = L. and W. V. 222, under Geronta. Cockerell preserves much that is not in M. Le Bas' copy, which was moreover made in haste.

. ΟΥΤΟΥΙΚΑΙΣΤ. . . .  
ΔΙΑΤΕ . . ΘΕΝΤΟΣΤΟΥ  
. . . . . ΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΣΤΙΑΤΗ. Λ . . .  
. . . . . ΝΟΙΑΤΕΝΗΤΑΙΟΝ . . Ν .  
5 ΣΙΑΘΙΣΤΑΜΗΤΑΙΡΟΝΓΟΣ . . .  
ΝΕΙΣΤΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΥΣΑΝ. . . ΛΛΚ .  
ΡΟΥΣΙΑΝΚΑΙΠΕΡΟΥΡΓΙΑΝΣΥΝΤ . .  
. . . ΙΣΘΑΙΚΑΣΩΣΕΟΙΣΕΤΑΙΤΩΙΣΩΙΔΙΑΤΟ  
ΚΙΤΑΗΟΝΟΣΧΙΟΝΟΥΜΗΕΝΑΥΠΟΜΕΛ . .  
10 ΙΗΚΕΝΑΙ ΕΔΟΞΕΤΟΙ . ΣΥΜΕΔΙΟΙΣ  
ΜΩΜΗΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΩΝΕΥ . ΚΕΧΩΡΙΣΘΑ  
ΕΠΙΝΙΚΩΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΥΤΟΥΗΛΙΣ . ΩΝΟ  
ΤΗΣΑΙΣΤΗΛΗΝΠΙΟΣΤΩΠΕΡΩΙΤΟΣΔ .  
ΣΤΕΥΣΩΤΗΡΟΣΧΑΡΙΝΤΟΥΑΝΑΓΡΑΡΕ  
15 ΣΘΑΙΤΑΟΝΟΜΑΤΑΤΩΝΥΠΟΜΕΝΩΝΤΩΝ

ΘΗΓΩΝΠΑΡΑΔΙΛΕΝΤΩΙΙΕ . ΩΙΤΩΙΕΝΔΙ  
ΔΥΜΟΙΞΚΑΘΟΤΙΗ . . ΡΟΓΡΑ . Ι . ΩΞΧ

## 20 ΕΠΙΤΡΟΙ

ΥΠΑΡΔΙ . ΝΟΥ . .  
ΤΟΥΠΡΟΦΗΓΟΥΥΙΟΣΠΟΣΙΔΩ  
ΝΙΟΣ

- ἐπὶ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ]ου τοῦ καὶ στ[εφανη-  
 φόρου, δια(κ)ε[λευ]θέντος το[ῖς . . . . .  
 . . . . . καὶ τοῖς στρατηγ[οῖς . . . . .  
 . . . . . ὅπω]ς πρόνοια γένηται ὃν ἂν ὁ  
 5 θεὸς (κ)αθιστάνη (κ)αιρὸν [πρ]οσ[ήκον-  
 τα] εἰς τὴν ὀφείλουσαν [Ἀπό]λλ[ωνι Διδυ-  
 μεί]θυσίαν καὶ ἱερουργίαν συντ[ελ-  
 ε]ῖσθαι καθὼς ἐθίζεται τῷ [θε]ῷ, διὰ τὸ  
 εἶκ πλέονος χρόνου μηδένα ὑπομε[μ]  
 10 εν]ηκέναι· ἔδοξε τοῖ[ς] συ(ν)έδ(ρ)οις  
 γνῶμη ἐπιστατῶν συ[γ]κεχωρ(ῆ)σθα[ι  
 Ἐπινίκῳ Ἐπινίκου τοῦ Ἡ(φα)ιστί]ωνο[ς  
 στήσαι στήλην πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ το[ῦ] Δ[ι-  
 ὸ]ς τοῦ Σωτήρος, χάριν τοῦ ἀναγράφε-  
 15 σθαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ὑπομενόντων [π-  
 (ολιτ)ῶν παρὰ Δί(α) ἐν τῷ ἱε[ρ]ῷ τῷ ἐν Δι-  
 δύμοις καθότι ἡ [ἀπ]ογρά[φη] . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 20 ἐπίτρο[ποι] . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 τοῦ προφή(τ)ου υἱὸς Ποσιδῶ-  
 νιος

. In the cursive transcription, I have of course followed M. Waddington's interpretation, except where Cockerell's copy enabled me to add to it.

105.—Geronta. An honorary decree.

ΣΟΙΚΙΑΣΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ  
 ΛΑΒΩΝΤΗΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙ  
 . . ΗΣΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΔΩΡΕΑΝΥ  
 ΤΟΥΛ . ΜΠΡΩΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΔΟ  
 5 Ι ΝΟΜΗΣΑΙΚΑΙΠΟΙΗΣΑΙΕ  
 ΞΝΙ . ΜΟΥΣΣΕΙΤΟΥΚΑΙΕΛΑΙΟΥ  
 ΤΩΝ . . ΟΙ ΞΝΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΙΩΝΕΝ  
 ΞΧΙ . . ΣΙΚΑΙΡΟΙΣΔΙΑΤΕΤΑΥΤΑ  
 ΑΠΟΔΕΙ . ΘΕΙΣΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣΚΑΙΕΥ  
 10 . . . ΤΗΣΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΓΕΝΟΣ  
 ΔΕΚΑΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΣΤΩΝ  
 ΟΙΣΥΝΑΥΞΗΣΑΣΤΑΣΙΩΝ . . .  
 ΞΝ . . ΟΣΟΔΟΥΣΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΔΕ . . .  
 ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΙΑΣΤΩΝΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ  
 15 - ΞΝΓΑΙΟΥΑΙΟΥΥΠΟΙ .  
 ΝΟΥΑΙ . ΥΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

. . . τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίας γενόμενος  
 παρα]λαβὼν τὴν προφητεί-  
 αν τ]ῆς πατρίδος δωρεὰν ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοδό[ξως  
 5 ἀγορα]νομήσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι ε-  
 ὑ]ωνι[σ]μοὺς σείτου καὶ ἐλαίου  
 καὶ τῶν [λ]οι[π]ῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐν  
 δυ]σχ(ε)[ρ]ε]σι καιροῖς, διὰ τε ταῦτα  
 ἀποδευ[χ]θεὶς φιλόπατρις καὶ εὐ-  
 10 εργ[ε]της τῆς πόλεως, γενό[μ]  
 ενος] δὲ καὶ προστάτης τῶν . . .  
 . . . κα]ὶ συναυξήσας τὰς (τ)ῶν . . .  
 . . . ων [πρ]οσόδους ποιήσας δὲ [καὶ  
 γυμνασιαρχίας τῶν πατέρων . . .

The last name is Ἀντιόχου; is the one in the line above Γαίου Αἰλίου, two letters of the apparent repetition ΑΙΑΙ being dropped by the copyist, or Ἰουλίου?

107b.—Patara.

..... ΤΕΚΤΟΣ  
 ..... ΔΕΣΤΙΣ  
 ..... ΕΤΟΙΟΣ  
 ΛΥΚΙΩΝΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝ

. . . Λυκίων τὸ κοινόν

112.—Patara.

ΜΕΤΤΙΟΜΟΛΕΞΓΟ  
 ΛΥΚΙΩΝΤΟΘΗ' ΟΝ  
 ΕΟΝΟΥΣΣΟΛΗΜΟΣ

This may be one or two inscriptions:—

(a) Μεττι[φ] Μοδέστ[φ]  
 Λυκίων τὸ [κοιν]όν

(b) τοῦ Λυκίων] ἔθνους ὁ δῆμος

Cf. 108, *C.I.G.* 4280.

113.—Patara.

ΣΥΝΕΔΗΜΟΣΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΥΚΑΤΕΣΣΚΕΥ  
 ΑΣΕΝΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΜΑΜΙΩ . ΜΕΝΕΚΙ . .  
 ΤΟΥΤΗΙΕΡΕΙΑ . ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣ . ΤΗΓ  
 ΕΑΥΤΟΥΘΡΕΨΑΣΗ.

Συνέ[γ]δημος Μηνοφίλου κατεσσεύ-  
 ασεν τὸ μνημεῖον Μαμίω Μενεκ[ρά]-  
 του τῇ ἱερείᾳ Δημητρὸς τῇ γ[λυκυτάτῃ  
 ἑαυτοῦ θρεψάσῃ

If the genitive *ἐαυτοῦ* is right, *ἡ θρέψασα* is regarded as a noun. For the name *Συνέγδημος*, cf. *C.I.G.* 4322. The 'barbarian' names in the inscriptions which follow are merely transcribed, without attempt at emendation.

119.—Under heading Patara; but clearly from Aperlae.

Cf. 116, 117, 118, *C.I.G.* 4290, Add. 4300g, 4289.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΤΟ  
ΕΡΠΙΔΙΣΗΗΚΑΙΣΑΡΠΗΔΟΝΙΣΛΥΣΑΝ  
ΔΡΟΥΑΠΕΡΛΕΝΙΣΘΡΕΠΤΟΙΣΑΥΤΗΣ  
ΣΥΝΑΛΛΑΓΗΚΑΙΜΟΥΣΑΡΟΥΤΙΚΑΙΝΕ  
5 ΚΗΤΙΚΩΙΣΟΣΥΝ . ΩΙΕΙΕΝΚΗΔΕΥΘΗ  
ΝΑΙΚΛ . ΛΕΟΝΗΚΑΙΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΙΟΥ  
ΓΑΤΡΙΑΥΤΟΥΕΤΕΡΟΣΔΕΟΥΔΕΕΙΣ  
ΕΝΤΑΙΗΣΕ . ΤΑΙΗΟΙΣΑΝΑΥΤΗΣΥΝ  
ΧΩΡΗΣΗΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΕΤΕΡΟΣΕΝΚΗ  
10 ΔΕΥΣ . ΙΦΝΑΟΦΙΛΕΣΙΤΗΑΠΕΡ  
ΛΕΠΩΝΠΟΛΙΧΦ .

τὸ μνημεῖον κατ(ε)σκεύαστο  
'Ερπιδασὴ ἡ καὶ Σαρπηδονὶς Λυσάν-  
δρου 'Απερλε[ίτ]ις θρεπτοῖς αὐτῆς  
Συναλλάγῃ καὶ Μουσαροῦτι καὶ Νέ-  
5 κητι κ(α)λ ο[ι]ς συν[χ]ωρεῖ ἐνκιδευθῆ-  
ναι κα[λ] Λεόνῃ καὶ 'Ασκληπιάδι θυ-  
γατρὶ αὐτοῦ· ἕτερος δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς  
ἐντα(φ)ήσεται ἢ οἷς ἂν αὐτὴ συν-  
χωρήσῃ· ἐὰν δέ τις ἕτερος ἐνκη-  
10 δεύσ[η] τινά, ὀφιλέσ[ε]ι τῇ 'Απερ-  
λειτῶν πόλι χ φ'

The following remark is written beside this in pencil, by Leake's hand: 'Mr. Akerblad constantly corrects ΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤΗΣ to ΑΠΕΡΑΕΙΤΗΣ, but several ancient authors call it Aperlae,

and these inscriptions prove that to be the real name.  
W. M. L.'

120.—As 119, still under Patara; the same heading goes on till 131, but these all come from farther east on the same coast.

ΟΤΑΦΟΣΙΔΑΓΡΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΣΕΥ  
ΗΡΟΥΤΟΥΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΥΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤΟΥ  
ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΘΕΙΣΥΠΟΑΥΤΟΥΑΥΤΩ  
ΤΕΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΝΑΗΡΗΑΓΟ  
5 ΦΟΥΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤΙΔΙΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΑΥ  
ΤΟΝΚΑΙΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΟΙΣΑΝΑΥΤΟΙ  
ΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΩΣΙΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΥΠΟΣΟ  
ΝΟΥΔΕΩΣΑΝΒΟΥΛ . . ΩΣΙΝΕΞΟΥ  
ΣΙΝΤΗΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑΝΑ . ΩΔΕΟΥΔΕ  
ΝΙΕΞΕΣΤΑΙΕΝΘΑΨΑΙ+ΦΕΙΛΕΣΕΙ  
ΤΩΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤΩΝΔΗΜΩ|ΧΒΦ'

‘Ο τάφος Ἰδάγρου τοῦ καὶ Σε-  
ήρου τοῦ Κρατέρου Ἀπερλείτου,  
κατασκευασθεὶς ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ  
τε καὶ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Νάνῃ Ἐρ(μ)αγό-  
(ρ)ου Ἀπερλείτιδι καὶ τέκνοις αὐ-  
τ(ῶ)ν καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ  
συνχωρήσωσιν. καὶ τοῦ ὑποσο-  
ρίου δὲ ὡς ἂν βουλ[ηθ]ῶσιν ἔξου-  
σιν τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ἀ[λλ]ῳ δὲ οὐδέ-  
νι ἔξεσται ἐνθάψαι, [ἢ ὁ] φειλέσει  
τῷ Ἀπερλειτῶν δῆμῳ Χ Β Φ'

121.—See 120.

ΤΟΜΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΑΥΡ·ΘΕΩΤΕΙΜΟΣΔΑΠΕΡΛΕΝΗΣ  
ΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΜΟΥΑΥΡΑΡΣΑΕΙΚΑΙΥΙΩΔΗΜΙΤΡΙ<sub>3</sub>ΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ  
ΑΥΤΟΥΔΙΟΚΙΔΙΑΗΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΩΝΕΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΚΟΝΚΑΙΔΕΑΥ  
ΤΟΥ

ΗΤΕΑΔΕΑΦΗΝΟΥΑΡΕΑΣΙΣΚΑΙΟΔΑΔΕΛΦΟΣΜΟΥΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΚΑΙ  
ΓΥΝΑΙ

ΚΑΙΟΞΕΚΟΣΜΟΥΪΡΜΑΠΙΑΣΕΝΔΕΤΩΥΠΟΣΟΡΚΩΤΑΘΡΕΠΤΑΡΙΑ  
ΕΝΟΥΡΕΚΑΙΗCΕΤΝΑΙΚΕΜΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΥΥΙΟΥΗΜΩΝΟΥΔΕΝΙΔΕΗΞΕC  
ΚΑΙΕΤΕΡΩΤΗCΥΝΧΩΡΗCΑΙΕΚΗΔΕΘΗΝΑΙΟΥΤΕΕΝΤΟΜΗΜΕΙΟ  
ΟΥΤΕΕΝΤΩΥΠΟΣΟΡΙΚΩΗΚ·ΤΟΝΛΙΘΟΚΟΠΟΜΟΥΑΥΡ·ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΑ  
ΝΔ.

ΑΝΤΕΚΕΛΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤΗΣΚΑΙΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΙΑΙΟΝΑΘΟΝΟΜΟΥ  
ΑΛΛΟΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΟΝΕΝΘΑΨΕΝΕΙΜΕΝΕΓΟΕΞΕΝΓΡΑΦΟCΕΠΙΤΡΕΨΩ  
ΗΟΦΕΙΛΕC· . . . CΠΕΙΜΟΥΤΩΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤΩΝΔΗΜΩΧΕΙΛ·ΦΛ.

Τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν Αὐρ. Θεότειμος (τετράκις) Ἀπερλ(εῖ)της  
ἑαυτῷ καὶ γυναικὶ μου Αὐρ. Ἀρσάσει καὶ υἱῷ Δημητρί[ω] καὶ γυναικὶ  
αὐτοῦ Διοκιδιάνῃ καὶ τέκνοις αὐτῶν. ἐνκηδευθήσονται δὲ αὐτοῦ  
ἢ τε ἀδελ(λ)φή(μ)ον Ἀρ(σ)ασις καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός μου Καλλίστρατος καὶ γυναι-  
καῖο[ς] νε(π)ός μου Ἑρμαπίας. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποσορ[ι]κῷ τὰ θρεπτάρια  
ἐ(μ)οῦ (τ)ε καὶ (τ)ῆς (γυ)ναϊκός μου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἡμῶν. Οὐδενὶ δὲ ἐξ(ε)σ-  
(τ)αι ἐτέρῳ τῇ(δ)[ε] συνχωρῆσαι ἐνκηδεῖν[θ]ῆναι οὔτε ἐν τ(ῷ) μνημεί(ω)  
οὔτε ἐν τῷ ὑποσορικῷ τὸν λιθοκόπο[ν] μου Αὐρ. Χαρίτων

Ἀπερλεῖτης καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ μου.  
ἀλλ(ω) δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξὸν ἐνθάψ[ε]ιν, εἰ μ(ὴ) ἐγ(ὼ) ζ(ῶν) ἐνγράφως ἐπιτρέψω,  
ἢ ὀφειλέσ[ει] [προστ]είμουν τῷ Ἀπερλειτῶν δήμῳ ~~κ~~ χείλ(ια)

122.

ΤΟΜΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΕCΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ  
ΑΥΡ.ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟCΔΗΜΑΡΕΙΗC  
ΑΠΕΡΛΕ ΗCΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙ  
ΚΙΑΥΤΟΥCΤΕΦΑΗΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙC  
ΚΑΙΕΝΘΟΝΟΙCΚΑΙΠΕΝΘΕΡΩ

ΑΥΡΕΩΤΗΡΙΧΩΚΑΙΦΙΛΩ  
 ΑΥΤΟΥΠΕΡΙΓΕΝΕΙΔΟΥΛΟΥ  
 ΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΩΝΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ  
 ΚΑΙΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΑΛΛΩΔΕΙΟΥ  
 ΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣΤΑΙΕΝΘΑΨΑ

Τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν  
 Αὐρ. Διονύσιος Δημα[ρ]έ(τ)ης  
 Ἀπερλε[ίτ]ης ἑαυτῷ καὶ γυναι-  
 κὶ αὐτοῦ Στεφάνῃ καὶ τέκνοις  
 καὶ ἐν(γ)όνοις καὶ πενθερῷ  
 Αὐρ. Σωτηρίῳ καὶ φίλῳ  
 αὐτοῦ Περιγένει δούλ[ου τῶν  
 ἀξιολογωτάτων Λυσάνδρου  
 καὶ Διοφάντου. ἄλλῃ δ(ε) οὐ-  
 δὲν ἐξέσται ἐνθάψα[ι]

124.—See 120. From Myra, apparently.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣΙΑΥΝΗΡΟΔΙΠ	Αὐρήλιος	-ιπ-
ΠΟΥΜΥΡΕΥΣΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙ	που Μυρεὺς ἑαυτῷ καὶ	
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΘΑΜΗΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ	γυναικὶ Θάμῃ καὶ τέκνοις.	

125a.

ΚΑΙΟΣΩΖΙΜΟΣ	-καιος (Ζ)ώ(σ)ιμος
ΖΩΤΙΚΗΕΥΒΟΥ	Ζωτικὴ Εὐβου-
ΛΟΣΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ	λος Εὐτύχης
ΦΙΛΟΓΕΝ . .	φιλογένης
ΜΟΛΗΣ	Μόλης.

For the name Μόλης, cf. 133, and *C.I.G.* 4321f, Add. 4325h.



125b.

ΕΠΡΑΘΗΧΩΡΙΣΤΟΥ    ἐπράθη χωρὶς τοῦ  
 ΙΥΠΟΣΩΡΙΟΥ        ὑποσορίου.

126.—See 120. Apparently from Cyane.

ΤΟΝΤΑΦΟΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΤΟ  
 ΕΠΑΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΣΜΟΥ . . ΣΑΙΟ Υ  
 ΕΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΤΗΜΗΡΙΑΥΤΟΥ  
 ΑΙΚΑΤΑΘΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ  
 5 ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΕΓΟΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΟΙΣΑΝΕΓΟΖΟΝΣΥΝ  
 ΧΟΡΗΣΩ.ΥΕΝΔΕΤΟΥΠΟΣΘΟΡΙΟΚΗΛΕΥ  
 ΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙΟΙΘΡΕΙ . ΤΟΙ . ΜΟΝΗΟΙΣΑΗΜΙΣ  
 ΖΟΝΤΕΣΣΥΝΧΟΡΗΣΟΜΕΝΑΛΛΟΔΕΟΥ  
 ΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣ ΚΑΙΕΚΗΔΕΥΣΑΙΤΙΝΑΟΥΤΕ  
 10 ΕΝΤΟΜΗΜΙΟΙΥΤΘΕΝΤΟΥΠΟΣΟΝΟ  
 ΗΟΦΕΛΛΗΣΕΙΤΚΥΑΝΙΤΟΝΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΧ . Α  
 ΟΝΟΕΛΕΝΣΑΣΛΗΝΨΕΤΑΙΤΗΜΙΣΥ  
 ΣΥΝΧΟΡΩΔΕΚΑΙΤΗΘΡΕΠΤΕΛΙΟ.

Τὸν τάφον κατεσκευάσ[α]το  
 Ἐπαφρόδιτος Μουσαίου  
 ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ  
 Αἰκατάθῃ καὶ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνοις  
 5 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ζῶν συν-  
 χωρήσω· ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποσορίῳ κη(δ)ευ-  
 θήσονται οἱ θρε(π)τοὶ ἡμῶν ἢ οἷς ἂν ἡμῖς  
 ζῶντες συνχωρήσομεν· ἄλλω δὲ οὐ-  
 δὲν ἐ(ξ)εσ(τ)αὶ ἐν κηδεῦσαι τινα οὔτε  
 10 ἐν τῷ μνημίῳ [ο]ὔτ[ε] ἐν τῷ ὅποσο(ρ)ίῳ,  
 ἢ ὀφείλ(ε)σει τῇ Κυανειτῶν γερουσίᾳ Χ α,  
 ὧν ὁ ἐλέν(ξ)ας λήνψεται τὸ ἡμισυ.  
 συνχωρῶ δὲ καὶ τῇ θρεπτ(ῇ) [Δ]ιο[νυσία]?

Evidently an ω was used which Cockerell failed to distinguish, except in one case, from ο ; perhaps ω or ω.

127.

ΣΥΧΩΡΕΚΕΛΕ	Σὺ χώρε κελε[υθεῖς
ΕΝΚΗΘΕΙΟΗΟΛΛ	ἐνκηθευθῆ[ναι
ΚΑΙΓΛΥΠΤΩ	καὶ Γλύπτω (?)
ΚΑΙΘΡΕΠΗΑΥ	καὶ θρεπ[τὰ] αὐ-
ΠΗΣΠΡΟΣ	(τ)ῆς προσ-
ΔΕΞΕΙ.	δέξει.

133.—'Finica.' The same heading lasts till 141.

ΣΕΛΛΙΟΣΤΟΥΓΟΝΑΜΟΑ Σέλλιος τοῦ Γοναμόα (Ποναμόα?).

135.

α. ΩΜΙ	. . . . .
ΑΠΟΛΕΣ	ἀπολίσ[θαι
ΕΣΤΕΙΟ	. . . . .
ΟΝΤΕΙΜΟΚ	. . . . .
ΝΕΑΥΤΩΝ	ἐαυτῶν.

β. ΑΗΤΑΤΟΝΚΑΙΕΡΠΙΓΡΗΝ

τὸν δεῖνα Φι]λήτα τὸν καὶ Ερπίγρην

136.

ΜΗΘΕΝΤΑΥΝΟΤΟΥ  
ΔΗΜΟΥ  
ΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΑΛΛΟΥΣ  
ΚΑΤΑΤΗΝΪΙΑΣΗΚΗΝ

τὸν δεῖνα  
τι]μηθέντα ὑ(π)ὸ τοῦ  
δήμου  
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους,  
κατὰ τὴν [δ]ια(θ)ήκην.

137b.

ΦΑΣΗΛΕΙ	Φασηλεί[την νεικήσαντα ἐνδ-
ΟΞΩΞΠΙ	όξω[s] Π[ύθια ?
ΓΩΝΟΣ	a]γωνος.

138.—See 133. The inscription seems in fact to have come from Olympus.

ΝΟΘΕΤΟΥΝΙΟΣΤΕ  
ΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΟΥΜΑΥΡ<  
ΝΟΛΗΤΟΣΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΓ,  
ΜΟΛΗΤΟΣΓΚΟΝΩΝΟΣ  
. ΟΛΗΜΠΗΝΟΣ

Ἄγω]νοθετοῦν(τ)ος το[ῦ  
ἀξιο]λογωτάτου Μ. Αὐρ.  
(Μ)όλητος Δημητρίου  
Μόλης γ' Κόνωνος  
Ὀλ[υ]μπηνός.

139.

ΤΟΝ ΤΥΜΒΟΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ  
ΟΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΚΥΡΙΣ ΑΠΦΙΑΣ ΟΛΥΜΗΝΟΣ ΕΑΥΤΗ  
ΚΕΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣ  
ΕΙΣ ΟΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΣ ΟΥΚ ΗΔΕΥΘΗ ΕΤΕΙ ΕΚΤΕΙΣΕΡ  
ῬΑΔΗΝ, Χ ΦΙΛΩΝΟ ΕΛΕΝ ΖΑΛΗΝ ΨΕΤΕΡΟ Γ  
ΕΥΝΧΩΡΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΟΥΡΑΚΛΩΝΙΚΕ ΓΥΝΕΚΙΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΑΥΣΟΥΝΙ

τὸν τύμβον κατεσκεύασεν Δημήτριος  
ὁ καὶ Φιλοκύρις Ἀπφίας Ὀλυμπ[η]νὸς ἑαυτ[ῶ]  
κὲ γυναικὶ Εὐλογίᾳ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ ἐγγόνοις  
εἰς δὲ ἕτερος οὐ κηδευθήσετε, ἢ ἐκτείσε(ι)  
τῷ δήμῳ Χ Φ', ὧν ὁ ἐλένξας λήνψετε τὸ γ.  
συνχωροῦντός (μ)ου Ἡρακλόωνι κὲ γυνεκὶ αὐτοῦ Παύσουσι

## 177.—Seleucia.

- a.                    + ΤΟΠΟ                    τόπο[s]  
                          ΔΕΣΑΝΙΑΣΑ  
                          ΕΙΘΕΟΥ
- b.                    ΜΝΗΜ. ΟΔ                    Μνημ[εί]ο[v]  
                          ΟΥΚΟΠΙΑΤΟΥ                    τ]οῦ Κοπιάτου  
                          ΔΡΙΕΔΜΕΝΟ                    Ἄρισαμένο[v]  
                          ΔΣΤΑΣΙΣΛΟ                    αν]άστασις  
                          ΔΡΙΣ.

## 179a.—Seleucia.

+ ΟΗΚΗΘΩΜ                    Θήκη Θωμ[ᾶ]  
   |                    ΩΤΡΙΣΩΝΤΟΣ                    [ξ]ῶντος

## 180b.



? Γεωργίου Ἀνδρέου Ἰωάννου.

These interpretations are suggested in pencil, in Cockerell's book, and seem to fit.

## 181b.—Corycus.

... ΙΟΥΑΥΙΣΖ  
 ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝΑΔΙ  
 ΝΟΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΣ  
 ΠΠΛΙΛΕΠΙΚ  
 ΠΙΟΝΤΟΝΑΓΑ  
 ΚΥΡΙΟΝΕΚ

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα  
 Θεοῦ Τραιάνου Παρθικοῦ υἱὸν  
 Θεοῦ Νέρ]ονα υἱὸν  
 Τραιανὸν Ἀδρια-  
 νὸν Σεβαστόν . . .  
 . . . Δία ἐπικ[λησιν] Ὀλύμ-  
 πιον τὸν ἀ(π)ά[ντων]  
 κύριον . . .

188a.—Corycus.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ

Θ . . . . Μ

189a. Corycus.

Κ<sup>Λ</sup>ΩΔ  
 ΙΤΡΠ  
 ΠΑΔΛ .  
 Λ )  
 Υ Χ ~  
 Σ Μ ,  
 Ρ  
 .

E. A. GARDNER.

# ON THE SYRINX (σύριγξ) IN THE ANCIENT CHARIOT.

THE Attic Tragedians—for the use seems to have extant examples there only—several times apply the word σύριγξ to the wheel of a chariot or some part of it. The passages are these :—

Aesch. *Supp.* 181 :

σύριγγες οὐ σιγῶσιν ἀξονήλατοι.

Id. *Sept.* 205 :

σύριγγες ἔκλαγξαν ἐλίτροχοι.

Soph. *Electra*, 720 :

κείνος δ' ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἐσχάτην στήλην ἔχων  
ἔχριμπτ' ἀεὶ σύριγγα, δεξιὸν τ' ἀνελς  
σειραῖον ἵππον εἴργε τὸν προσκείμενον.

Eur. *Hipp.* 1234 :

ξύμφυρτα δ' ἦν ἅπαντα, σύριγγές τ' ἄνω  
τροχῶν ἐπήδων ἀξόνων τ' ἐνήλατα.

Id. *Iph. A.* 227 :

οἷς παρεπάλλετο

Πηλείδας σὺν ὅπλοισι παρ' ἄντυγα καὶ  
σύριγγας ἀρματέλους.

The current explanation of the word in this application is given by Liddell and Scott thus: 'σύριγξ, *Il.*, anything like a pipe; 1. a spear-case = δορατοθήκη, *Il.* 19, 387. 2. the box or hole in the nave of a wheel,' with references selected from the above.

This view appears to have been suggested by the fact that in two of the passages in which the σύριγξ is mentioned, the axle is also mentioned. In the *Supplices* the σύριγγες are said to be 'axle-driven'; in the *Hippolytus* the σύριγγες of the broken

wheel 'leap up', and so do the 'pins of the axles', i.e. the pegs of wood or metal in the axle-tree by which the wheels are kept from coming off. It is obvious, however, that no decisive evidence can be obtained from these descriptions, which are consistent with many different interpretations of the term; and on consideration it is impossible to be satisfied with that which has been preferred. The first and readiest objection has been felt by the lexicographers, who have innocently endeavoured to turn it by an ambiguity. 'The box, or hole in the nave of a wheel.' Which? Was the *σῦρυξ* according to this view a separate piece fitted in the nave of the wheel, and surrounding the axle, or was it merely the perforation of the axle? If the former, is there any reason to suppose that archaic wheelwrights used any such complication? If the latter, why should such a perforation have any name, as distinct from the thing perforated, the nave itself, and what could direct the choice of a name to the highly inappropriate word *σῦρυξ*? The Pan's-pipe, *σῦρυξ* or *σῦρυγες*—for the word is both singular and plural—is properly a set of reeds, proportioned to give the notes of a scale, and bound together for convenience of playing,—the rudiments in fact of an organ. And even if we start from the single reed as the object for comparison, nothing could be less like a reed than the hole in a wheel-nave, or the lining, if there was such a lining, which protected it, a hole or circle which must be nearly as broad as it is deep.

If we turn from the literal use of the word to the other borrowed applications, we find that they are what we should expect, and not at all like the supposed use in the case of the chariot. The *σῦρυξ* is generally a long and narrow pipe, and is most frequently applied to such pipes or passages as are found in sets (see the *Lex. s.v.*). The hollow of the spine, for example, is *σῦρυξ*, the trunk of the elephant is *σῦρυξ*, the nostrils are *σῦρυγες*: a single plume of a wing is *σῦρυξ*, the galleries made in mining operations or for burial purposes are *σῦρυγες*, &c. And it will be noticed that in some of these instances the resemblance to the original *σῦρυξ*, the musical instrument, goes beyond the mere presence of a pipe or pipes, and appears also in the variation of length. The *σῦρυγες* of a wing, for example, decrease in length somewhat as those of Pan do; the mine of

the besieger is carried in a series of rectangular turns, the forward piece long, the passage from the far end of one gallery to the near end of the next short, so that the plan of the whole, if all the galleries were supposed complete, would closely resemble that of the Pan's-pipe. So, when Achilles, in the *Iliad*, snatches his spear from the σύριγξ (19, 387),

ἐκ δ' ἄρα σύριγγος πατρώιον ἐσπάσατ' ἔγχος,

it is strictly not a 'spear-case' that the poet has in view, but a *spear-stand*, something like that in which a modern Peleides keeps his guns or his billiard-cues, a frame with a series of holes and a box beneath. When filled with a set of spears, which would naturally vary in length, such a *δορατοθήκη* would have an obvious resemblance to the σύριγξ proper. Somewhat similar is the πεντεσύριγγον ξύλον or *stocks*, with its five holes for the neck, hands, and feet.

Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* apparently says nothing of the chariot-syrinx; and if any better or other explanation than that of Liddell and Scott has been proposed elsewhere, the suggestion has had no effect on the commentators of the tragedians, who repeat the 'nave-hole' theory, when they do not vary it by reading the word simply *nave*. Thus Dindorf, in the *Lexicon Aeschyleum* translates it by *modiolus*. But the *modiolus* was not σύριγξ but *χνόη*: and although in the passage from Sophocles' *Electra*, the phrase used for the final catastrophe (ἔθραυσεν ἄντυγος μέσας χνόας) is consistent, if we compare ἔχριμπτ' αἰεὶ σύριγγα, with the supposition that the *χνόη* and the σύριγξ were the same, we must presume, till the contrary is proved, that a difference of name indicates a difference of thing. And indeed, in the much more explicit and particular description of Euripides,

σύριγγές τ' ἄνω τροχῶν ἐπήδων ἀξόνων τ' ἐνήλατα,

the common explanation itself ἄνω πηδᾶ—is exploded and seen to be untenable altogether. The 'pins' could and certainly would 'leap up,' when the wheel received a severe shock; but surely the very last thing to make a visible spring would be the 'box,' tightly fixed in the middle of the nave.



In truth, the extant examples of *σύριγξ* in reference to the chariot, though they may tell us what it was not, are too few, and not precise enough, to tell us of themselves what it was. We want a larger collection of literature, or in default of this the testimony of those who had such a collection, and could reach the stores of Alexandrine and Byzantine tradition. But the curious thing is, that we actually have such testimony, though, as far as I can discover, no notice has been taken of it; indeed, I doubt whether any one has been at the pains to translate the brief but perfectly clear passage in which it occurs. It is found in the scholia to the Medicean MS. of Aeschylus, at the second of the above-cited places, *Sept.* 205. It is perhaps needless to remind the reader that the Medicean scholia are to be sharply distinguished from the ignorant and, for the most part worthless, notes in the other MSS. of Aeschylus. They form in the main a very good commentary, their chief defect being the obscurity, to which the ancient editor, with nothing but his margin to write on, was often reduced by mere lack of adequate space. The particular note in question is one of the additions to the scholia by the hand known as *m'*, a very learned and sensible hand, if one may judge from the average quality of the additions. The note is as follows: *σύριγγες τὰ ξύλα τὰ μέσον τοῦ περιφερούς ξύλου τοῦ τροχοῦ διαπεραιούμενα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ μέγα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μικρότερον, λόγον τῶν αὐλῶν τῶν συρίγγων ἐπέχοντα.* 'The *σύριγγες* were the pieces of wood which crossed from side to side of the wooden circumference of the wheel; named so because, one being large and the next smaller [and so on], they have a proportion resembling that of the pipes in the instrument so called.'

Note that *μέσον* (not *τὸ μέσον*, *the centre*, which would make nonsense of the whole) is used in the late Greek fashion almost as a preposition, equivalent to the classical *διά*, *between* or *across*. In *ἐπέχοντα* the preposition has perhaps a sense correlative to that which it has in *ἐπιφέρειν*. When a quality is transferred from one thing to another, which resembles it, the quality *ἐπιφέρεται*, the recipient thing *ἐπέχει*. Or perhaps *λόγον* is merely an adverbial accusative, 'extending over it in such a way as to resemble.' The question does not affect the sense.

It is clear that the author of this interesting and undoubtedly ancient explanation, supposed the wheel, to which the term *σύριγγες* applied, to be a very different thing from the spoke-wheel which we know. The wheel which he describes was not made with spokes (*κνήμαι*) at all, but with *staves* or *cross-pieces*, going right across the circle inclosed by the circumference, and fixed probably not into the circumference, like spokes, but on it. There would necessarily be two sets of such cross-pieces, to prevent the collapse of the wheel in all positions, one set across each surface (if I may so say) of the wheel. In each set the longest stave (*τὸ μέγα*) would be the diametrical stave, which passed over the axle. Those parallel to it, being placed at equal intervals, would of course diminish in a regular progression; so that, as the writer says, each set of staves would



MACEDONIAN CHARIOT, WITH ARCHAIC WHEEL (FROM A COIN).

have a proportion resembling that of the reeds in a Pan's-pipe, and indeed would look when fixed very much like a double Pan's-pipe in which the reeds diminish in both directions from a centre one. The whole structure, therefore, the *wheel* so made, was appropriately called *σύριγγες*, or sometimes loosely, as we see from Sophocles, *σύριγξ*. Such a wheel, though mechanically a very poor contrivance compared with the spoke-wheel, is far easier for a clumsy workman to make, and is in fact a sort of first departure from the still more primitive solid wheel. In Greek vases and coins, we actually see representations of such wheels, so far, at least, as that the wheels have sometimes staves, not spokes. Mr. Leaf tells me that they have regularly two cross-pieces on one side and one on the other; and a

similar arrangement is shown in the coin which Professor Gardner has chosen as an illustration. Perhaps, as the workmanship improved, this number was found sufficient. It seems, however, that it would be much too weak for violent use, and it may be merely one of the eclectic devices so common in the ancient draughtsmen, a few staves being given as representative of more, for the sake of the better effect to the eye of the fewer lines.

For myself, I find this explanation perfectly satisfactory, and see no reason to doubt that it descends to us from those who had not only the evidence of abundant Attic tragedy, but probably also those lost epics, especially the Theban, which of course the tragedians followed in their archaic descriptions. That the Attic poets themselves correctly understood the word could not necessarily be inferred. If the ancient bards termed the wheel *σύριγγες*, from whatever cause, the word would easily continue in poetical use, even when the wheel pictured by the writer had no *σύριγγες* at all. But it is to be remembered that an epic bard does not commonly err in defect of detail; and the *à priori* probability that the antiquarian Euripides knew just what a *σύριγξ* was, and meant his reader to know, is certainly not diminished by the sole passage which is precise enough to afford evidence. Nothing could better fit his description of Hippolytus' breaking wheel than the meaning of *σύριγγες* offered by the scholiast.

*σύριγγές τ' ἄνω  
τροχῶν ἐπήδων ἄξόνων τ' ἐνήλατα.*

The weak point of the stave-wheel is just this, that in an unusual wrench the ill-adjusted weight would force the staves from the periphery to which they were fixed. They would then 'leap up' in all directions exactly as Euripides says. The spoke-wheel, on the other hand, is so strong that, as every one knows, it does not as a rule break to pieces at all in an upset, but by the breaking of the axle or otherwise comes off entire. The 'leaping' of the 'staves' is a genuine archaic touch, and Euripides knew well what he meant. Elsewhere *stave-wheel*, or *wheel* simply, will be our best translation. If it is asked why

Aeschylus twice attributes to the *σὺριγξ* the sound of the wheel, the answer is that in this, as so often, his fancy has been guided by the associations of the word. The passage in the *Seven against Thebes* is full of such suggestions, and indeed the whole point of it is to liken the roll of the chariots to that of a terrible music.

A. W. VERRALL.

## VASES FROM RHODES WITH INCISED INSCRIPTIONS.

I HAVE already had occasion (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. V. p. 220) to speak of a collection of antiquities discovered by Mr. Biliotti in his excavations in Rhodes. These objects it will be remembered were transmitted to England with a diary of the excavations in which were noted the contents of each tomb as it was found; and a running number was pencilled upon every object as a reference to the tomb which had contained it. Unfortunately, these numbers have in many cases been lost, owing to the wear and tear of packing, breakage and cleaning; and even in other cases where these are preserved, it has been difficult sometimes to identify the object in its cleaned state with Mr. Biliotti's description on the spot: so that the most that can be done is to deduce general inferences only. I propose in the next volume of this *Journal* to publish the more interesting portions of the Diary, with references, wherever it has been possible to identify the objects, to Messrs. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, in compiling which I have classed all the objects according to their style and have given a description of the more important. The results are I think likely to prove valuable for the study of Rhodian vase-fabrics.

The present paper deals merely with a small class of vases from this collection, which have a special interest from the inscriptions which they bear, and which form an important addition to the vases hitherto known with *graffiti*, i.e. inscriptions incised with a sharp point. The most usual place to find these *graffiti* is upon the under-surface of the foot, but in some

cases, especially in the earlier periods, they occur on the more visible portions of the vase.

The numbers quoted refer to the lots in the sale catalogue.

*Lot 60.*—Amphoriskos, so-called Fikellura type, drab with brown ornaments; on neck rosettes, body covered with a network of dotted lines: on the shoulder is incised in rough characters |V|: it will be remembered that a precisely similar amphora in the British Museum bearing the graffito NIKO is described by Mr. Murray in the *Revue Arch.* new series, vol. xlv. p. 348.

*Lot 218.*—Two aski with red figures on black glaze of the finest period; (1) Eros flying and Nike flying with two phialæ; (2) Two mules. On the base of each of these aski, which were found in the same tomb, is the letter Λ.

*Lot 219.*—An askos similar to preceding, but rather heavier in form, and duller glaze, though the drawing is very fine; on it is a Satyr advancing to attack a Mænad: on the base the letter Α.

*Lot 240.*—A kylix of the commonest type with black figures, white accessories, details incised. On *int.* a bearded figure with chelys; on *ext.*, each side, a quadriga with Mænads riding on mules; around the lower surface of the base runs the inscription:

Φιλτῶς ἡμὶ τὰς καλὰς ἡ κύλιχς ἡ ποικίλα.

I do not recall any instance which exactly represents the scansion of this pair of verses; it just misses by one syllable the ordinary trochaic trimeter catalectic, and would appear to be a combination of two trochaic dimeters catalectic, a form which is used singly occasionally in tragic choruses, *e.g.* *Ajax*, l. 174. Roughly turned into English it would run somewhat like this:

‘Philto’s fairest of the fair:  
Philto’s painted cup am I.’

It is curious that the beautiful Philto or her admirer should have taken so much pains to identify as her property a cup which is intrinsically of so little value. But it is only what we find in plenty of other instances, as for example the lekythos

of Tataie now in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> which would be a very insignificant object without its inscription. May it not be that painted fictile ware was seldom or never in antiquity applied to daily use, but was reserved, as *éditions de luxe* of the shapes



of metal or common crockery, for presents, or for temple or funeral service? In that case the meanest painted vase would for the ancients have had its own peculiar interest.

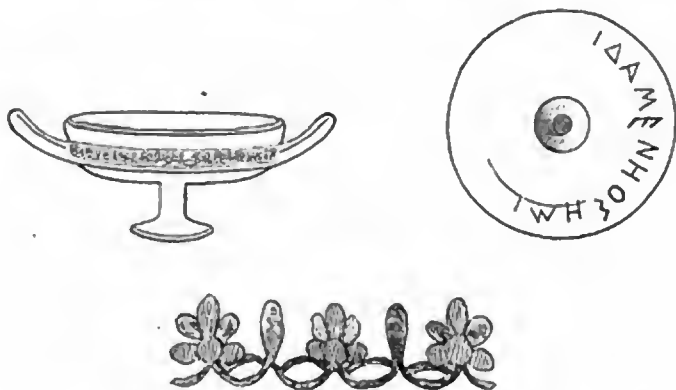
In the style of painting this kylix corresponds with the rough

<sup>1</sup> Purchased at a sale in London this year; the inscription runs *Tataieis emi lērouthos: us ē' en me klēpsē, thuplōds ēstai*. Röhl's transcript (*Inscr. Ant.* no. 526) seems accurate with this

exception, that the first letter of *thuplōds* is not, as he gives it, Θ, but certainly complete, thus ⊕.

black-figured vases of which so many have come from Rhodes, and which often have a distinguishing mark, such as a dolphin or ivy-leaf under each handle; in our case it is an ivy-leaf: I have already suggested that these marks may be the 'trade-marks' of individual artists or workshops, as a comparison of the similarity of style among the different instances of vases bearing the same mark would seem to suggest. The strongly Doric character of the inscription, especially in the form  $\eta\mu\iota$ , and in the genitive termination of  $\Phi\iota\lambda\tau\omega\varsigma$  (see Ahrens, *De Dial. Dor.* p. 258) are only what we should expect in Rhodes, so that I think we may safely attribute the origin of both vase and inscription to that island.

*Lot 241.*—A kylix of early form (height  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in., diameter  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in.) with an external band of anthemion ornament set vertically, black with purple and incised lines. On the under-surface of the foot is lightly incised  $\text{Ἰδαμενῆος ἡμῖ}$ .



The forms of the letters, *e.g.* the sloping  $\xi$  and the  $\Lambda$ , appear certainly earlier than those of the Philto cup; this vase was not found in Rhodes itself but in the adjoining island of Ixia; considering the peculiarity of the epic genitive, and the interchange of *a* for *o* in  $\text{Ἰδαμενῆος}$ , which Ahrens (*loc. cit.* p. 119) says is very rare except in Crete, it would be tempting to connect it with that island and the specially Cretan hero Idomenus; but there seems hardly evidence enough for this: Idomenus is already known as the name of a Rhodian (Diod. Sic. 12, 57),



and we are accustomed in Rhodes to meet with strange anomalies of dialect, especially on the vases which come thence (see Kirchhoff, *Studien*, third edition, p. 43).

*Lot 242.* An aryballos with elaborate cruciform anthemion pattern black and purple with incised lines on drab: beneath the base is the usual device of a wheel with curved spokes: round the mouth and on the shoulder are rays. The inscription runs round the vertical edge of the lip.

Ἀστυψίδα (or Ἀστυοχίδα) ἡμί.



ΑΣΤΥΨΙΔΑ Η ΜΙ

The special point of interest of this vase lies in the fact that we know exactly its provenance, the pencil reference to the *Diary* having fortunately in this case survived. It was found on the south side of Camirus, in a tomb which contained also a broken hydria decorated with two red figures; this hydria can only be lot 235, which is distinctly late in style. Such a juxtaposition as that of an apparently early aryballos with a late red-figured vase is of the greatest interest, as, even if we do not necessarily attribute all objects found together to precisely the same period of manufacture, it must in any case tend to modify our ideas of the exclusively archaic character of these aryballi. And there is nothing in the form of the inscription which need prevent a comparatively late attribution. It is true that the name Ἀστύοχος is known, whereas the name

'Αστυοψίδας is not known, and is of course impossible as a patronymic; but on the other hand I doubt if the Doro-chalcidian form of  $\psi = \chi$  would occur among letters so late as these; if as I suppose it represents a  $\psi$ , we have this point of comparison with the Philto cup; whereas in the Philto cup we have the  $\tau \xi$  used instead of the non-phoenician letter  $\Xi$ , and where, if the necessity had arisen, we should no doubt have had  $\Gamma \Xi$  for  $\Upsilon$ , in this case the later form is used.

In lots 243 and 244 we have a curious instance of three vases all bearing in different forms the same name, ΑΓΗ, and which seem to have all belonged to the same lady; the two last at any rate, as the Diary shows, were found together in one tomb.

Lot 245.—An oinochoe, fine black glaze, encircled with a thin purple line halfway up the body, beneath the base is incised  $\Phi \Gamma \Lambda \eta$ .

Lot 246.—A phialē with two handles, fine black glaze, on base an inscription of which I can make nothing, thus

Κ Ε Γ Σ

Lot 250.—A similar case to the vases of Agē; here are an askos and two small stands, all of black ware, and all bearing the same inscription, ΑΠΙ; perhaps as they were all found in separate tombs this may be the commencement of the maker's name.

Lot 399 includes a small 'salt-cellar' of black ware, apparently late, which bears the same graffito as that on the shoulder of lot 60: as however they were from different tombs, and the periods seem widely distinct, this is probably an accidental coincidence.

Lot. 695.—A black glaze kotyle of a good period, lit. 2 in., diam.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in., with red base, on which is incised in good, deep characters

ΓΟΡΓΟΜΑΤΡΟΣΙ Γοργόματρος.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested to me that this may equally be read as Γοργώ ματρῶσι, but as that would be a very unusual form of dedication to meet with among this class of inscriptions,

I prefer to consider Γοργόματρος as a proper name, formed on the analogy of such names as Ἀρτίματρος, Σώματρος. The final ι would be in that case nothing more than a *lapis culamini*.

*Lot 700* includes one cup with graffito ΔΡΧΕ.

*Lot 743.*—A large stand of finest black glaze; under the foot, which is red, is incised in semicircular form ΡΟΔΙΟΣ ΚΛΕΤΗΣ, 'Ρόδιος Κλετής. It seems doubtful whether 'Ρόδιος in this order can refer to the citizenship of Kleteas, or whether it is simply another man's name as *passim* in inscriptions. Κλετής is interesting because, if our vase engraver has spelt it right, we must alter the form Κλητέας, Büekh's interpretation of this name in a Tegean inscription *C.I.* 1512.

I need scarcely say that in all the above cases the inscriptions are beyond a doubt genuine, as they were without exception invisible until the earth and deposit from the tomb were cleaned away. Lots 218, 219, 240, 241, 242 were all purchased for the British Museum.

CECIL SMITH.

STATUE OF AN EMPEROR IN THE BRITISH  
MUSEUM.

IN the last number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (VI. No. 1) Mr. Wroth tries to prove that the torso of a Roman Emperor from Cyrene in the Græco-Roman Gallery at the British Museum originally belonged to a statue of Hadrian. This torso is described in my *Guide to the Græco-Roman Sculptures*, 1877, Pt. I. p. 21, No. 46, as the 'Torso of a Roman Emperor'; it was found at Cyrene in a building which Messrs. Smith and Porcher in their *History of Discoveries*, p. 76, conjecture to have been the palace of a Roman governor, but which in the 'List of Sculptures,' which forms one of the Appendices of the same work, p. 104, may, it is suggested, have been an Augusteum, inasmuch as two busts and one head of emperors of the Antonine period were found in the same building.

Mr. Wroth supposes that the torso in question is that of Hadrian, because 'when complete it constituted a substantial replica' of a statue found at Hierapytna in Crete, which is published in the *Gazette Archéologique* for 1880 (pp. 52-55, Pl. 6), and is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. But how far can the Cyrene torso be considered a replica of the Cretan statue, of which latter I have before me a photograph? I cannot agree with M. Sorlin-Dorigny, who, in publishing this figure in the *Gazette Archéologique*, states that it is worthy to rank among the finest Iconic statues of the Roman Empire. I consider it a clumsy work of a provincial artist, just such as might have been expected in an island like Crete, which, as far as I know, has yielded only very mediocre specimens of sculpture. On the other hand, in the torso from Cyrene, in spite of the defaced condition of the front of the cuirass, we

may discern great refinement of treatment in the ornaments. This is particularly shown in the elephants' heads on either flank. It is from the excellence of the sculpture in these details that I was led to assign this torso to the Augustan age rather than to that of the Antonines. I am still of that opinion, though I note that Mr. Wolters in his *Gipsabgüsse Antiker Bildwerke*, p. 668, No. 1655, agrees with Mr. Wroth in considering this a torso of Hadrian on account of its resemblance to the Cretan statue. Mr. Wroth bases his attribution mainly on the fact that on both these figures the cuirass is decorated with the same group in relief, which in the *Guide to the Græco-Roman Gallery* already cited I have described as Rome standing between two Victories crowning her, with her feet resting on the wolf suckling the twins. A comparison of other representations of the same subject on imperial cuirasses leads me to the conclusion that the central figure is not Rome but the Palladium. Now before it can be assumed that the occurrence of this subject both on the Museum torso and the Cretan statue proves that the torso is necessarily that of Hadrian, it must be shown that he alone among Roman emperors has his cuirass ornamented with this composition.

When Mr. Wroth wrote his article he could hardly have been aware of the number of examples of cuirasses similarly ornamented on Roman imperial statues. In Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, v., I find the following: Pl. 919, No. 2326 (Turin); Pl. 942, No. 2412 (Naples); Pl. 963, No. 2479 (Vatican); Pl. 973, No. 2505 (Naples). To this list may be added the statue of Augustus, formerly in the Pourtales Collection, and now in the Museum at Berlin (see Hübner, *Winckelmannsfest-programm*, Berlin, 1868), the torso found in the German excavations at Olympia (*Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, ii. Pl. 29),<sup>1</sup> and the fragment of a cuirass found at Athens, Hübner, *op. cit.* p. 12, pl. 2. Now to establish Mr. Wroth's attribution of the Cyrene torso, it would be necessary for him to prove (1) that *all* the statues and torsos in the above list represent the emperor Hadrian rather than any other emperor; (2) that the Cretan statue represents Hadrian rather than some later emperor.

<sup>1</sup> It would appear from the note referred to above has been proved to be that of Hadrian by the discovery of the head of that emperor.

Dethier, the late keeper of the museum at Constantinople, thought that this figure represented Caracalla trampling on a Persian; and, notwithstanding the great authority of Longpérier, as cited by Sorlin-Dorigny, I should be disposed to place this statue rather in the third than in the second century A.D. I should not have expected a medallion in the centre of the wreath in a statue of Hadrian, and the action of trampling on a fallen foe is a motive which, so far as can be gathered from the evidence of coins, is more characteristic of the third and fourth centuries A.D. than of the age of Hadrian. I would in conclusion observe that the slightly-bent left knee of the Museum torso is no proof that the leg trampled on a prostrate foe; I should rather infer from the angle formed that the left foot stood on the same level as the right foot. Again, nothing whatever can be inferred from the correspondence in the direction of the folds of the paludamentum, which Mr. Wroth adduces as a corroboration of his general argument. Lastly, Mr. Wroth is not justified in stating that the marble statue of Aphrodite from Crete engraved in Spratt's *Travels in Crete*, i. p. 72, is *identical* with the Cyrene torso representing this same subject. The type is one of which there are many replicas in marble, in bronzo, on gems, pastes, and coins (see Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, pp. 330-35); but these replicas are never, so far as I know, exact copies one of another, but varieties of the same theme.

C. T. NEWTON.

REMARKS ON AESCH. *AGAM.* 1172, IN EMENDATION  
OF MR. BURY'S READING (p. 175).

IN the last number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (p. 175) Mr. John B. Bury advocates the emended reading of the corrupt verse 1172 of the *Agamemnon*,

ἐγὼ δὲ θερμὸν οὖς τάχ' ἐν πέδῳ βαλῶ.

He does not exactly explain this (in my opinion it is inexplicable), but he says θερμῶ in 1278 seems to prove that θερμὸν is right in 1172. But θερμῶ refers to shedding the warm life-blood, while θερμὸν οὖς, if I understand Mr. Bury aright, means an inspired or prophetic ear—'an ear that used to listen to the utterances of the victims.' Between the literal and the figurative senses there is no resemblance at all.

Nevertheless, Mr. Bury is right in the comparison, provided an emendation be admitted, which appears to me to be at once necessary to grammar and logic, and to account most satisfactorily for the reading of the MS. ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους, &c.

In v. 1136 and 1146, *scq.*, Cassandra laments her own fate; in 1156 she traces it to the marriage of Helen and Paris; in 1167 she bewails the fall of her city and her father. She passes from topic to topic, and does not revert to herself. What she ought here to say is this—

'Alas for the utter destruction of my city; alas for the vainly-offered sacrifices of my poor father! They did not prevent the city from falling, nor himself from shedding his life-blood on the ground.'

I propose to read, with especial regard to μὲν and δέ,—

ἄκος δ' οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν  
τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν,  
αὐτὸν δὲ θερμούς σταγόνας ἐν πέδῳ βαλεῖν.

It is to be observed that blood falling on the plain, so as to be absorbed by Mother Earth, was thought to bring retribution

as its fruit. So *Choeph.* 47, τί γὰρ λύτρον πεσόντος αἵματος πέδῳ; *ibid.* 400, νόμος μὲν φονίας σταγόνας χυμένας ἐς πέδον ἄλλο προσαιτεῖν αἶμα, and *Eumen.* 478, ἰὸς ἐκ φρονημάτων πέδῳ πεσών.

The reading *θερμὸν οὖς*, &c. gives this sense, if sense it can be called; but Cassandra must have been very mad indeed to talk in such an illogical strain—

‘My father’s sacrifices availed nought in preventing the city, on its part (μὲν), from falling, and I shall soon throw my inspired ear on the ground.’

The corruption arose in this way, I believe. There were variant readings, *θερμούς σταγόνας ἐν πέδῳ*, and *θερμὸν σταγόνα πρὸς πέδῳ*, or *πρὸς πέδον*. The singular (*σταγὼν*) had occurred just before, v. 1122. The superscribed termination of the  

δν

adjective, *θερμούς*, resulted in *θερμόνους*. This, from a comparison of *ζωπυρουμένας φρενὸς* in 1034, and *οἶον τὸ πῦρ* in 1256, was assumed to be a compound in the nominative. Thus ἐγὼ was introduced, to the rejection of αὐτόν, and βαλεῖν was altered to βαλῶ, while *σταγόνας* was clipped down to *τάχα*.

Thus it appears that an emendation which at first sight seems rather violent, and a mere guess, is really based on very sound reasoning. For my own part, I think the poet could not well have written anything else. The death of Priam at the family altar was an incident of the *Troica* as followed by the *Tragics*. In *Hec.* 21, Euripides closely associates the two events—

ἐπεὶ δὲ Τροία θ’ Ἐκτορός τ’ ἀπόλλυται  
 ψυχῇ, πατὴρ θ’ ἐστὶ κατεσκάφη,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ βωμῷ πρὸς θεοδμήτῳ πίτνει, &c.

And what is really very interesting, he commences the verse with αὐτὸς δὲ, an exact counterpart of αὐτόν δὲ in my proposed correction.

This correction had occurred to me independently; but Dr. Donaldson had before said (*New Craitylus*, § 309), ‘We entertain no doubt that the line (*Agam.* 1172) exhibits merely a confusion of the true reading, ἐγὼ δὲ θερμὰς σταγόνας ἐν πέδῳ βαλῶ.’

F. A. PALEY.





# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. A Statactæ representing a Boy and a Goose (Pl. A.)—E. A. GARDNER	1
2. Sepulchral Relief from Attica, at Winton Castle (Pl. B.)—G. BALDWIN BROWN	16
3. Odysseus and the Sirens—Dionysiac Boat Races—A Cylinx by Nikosthenes (Pl. XLIX.)—JANE E. HARRISON	19
4. Ancient Marbles in Great Britain. Supplement II. (Pls. LVI., LVII., and C.)—A. MICHAELIS	30
5. Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias: Megarica, Corinthiaca (Pls. L.—LV.)—F. IMHOOF-BLUMER and P. GARDNER	50
6. The Pergamene Frieze ( <i>continued</i> ).—L. R. FARNELL	102
7. Inscriptions copied by Cockerell in Greece.—E. A. GARDNER	143
8. The Aeschylean Treatment of Myth and Legend.—LEWIS CAMPBELL	153
9. Notes on (1) the Trilogy, (2) Certain Formal Artifices of Aeschylus.—J. B. BURY	167
10. Early Paintings of Asia Minor.—CECIL SMITH	180
11. Amphora Handles from Antiparos.—PERCY GARDNER	192
12. On the Gold and Silver Mines of Siphnos.—J. THEODORE BENT	195
13. A Torso of Hadrian in the British Museum.—WARWICK WROTH	199
14. The Discovery of Naukratis.—W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE	202

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*Papers offered for insertion should be sent not later than September next to PROFESSOR P. GARDNER, at the British Museum. Notes and news and communications on business to MR. GEORGE MACMILLAN, Hon. Sec., 29, Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.; to whom should also be addressed all applications from intending Candidates for admission to the Hellenic Society. Subscriptions may either be sent to MR. MACMILLAN, or paid into the account of the Society, at MESSRS. ROBARTS, LUBBOCK & Co., Bankers, Lombard Street, E.C.*





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